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ΑΚΡΟΓΩΝΙΑ



ΛΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ.

DISCOURSES
CONCERNING
THE TRUTH
OF THE
CHRISTIAN RELIGION;
AND
REMARKS
ON
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BY THE LATE REVEREND
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AND VICAR OF KENSINGTON.

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REMARKS

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

A. D. 337. THE emperor Constantius, instead of exerting his authority in keeping the peace amongst his quarrelsome subjects, became a bigoted patron of the Arians; and suffered them to use the Consubstantialists very cruelly, unless the fathers and historians of those times have deceived us. Some abatements must doubtless be made, on account of their party zeal, at a time when the controversy was so hot.

Ammianus Marcellinus represents him as a prince who was, of his own nature, ‘*inter bonos et malos medius* :’ as weak, timorous, suspicious, listening to informers and to flatterers; and cruel towards all who truly or falsely were accused of treason. His lord of the bed-chamber and first minister of state was one Eusebius, an eunuch, and a vile fellow, with whom, as Ammianus^a smartly observes, Constantius had a tolerable share of interest: ‘*apud quem, si vere dici debet, multa Constantius potuit*.’

Constantius was chaste, temperate, and well skilled in military exercises.

Socrates^b gives an account how Arianism began to flourish under Constantius. According to this historian, who by the way was a sworn enemy to the sect, an Arian presbyter, having free access to the palace, taught his doctrines to the principal eunuch; he to his brethren, the slaves and eunuchs of the family; they to the girls and maids of honour; these to the life-guards; and all of them to the empress; and she to the emperor. From the court it pre-

^a xviii. 4. where see the notes.

^b ii. 2.

sently got into the city, and became the daily subject of conversation in the streets, public-houses, and markets. Then came quarrels, and then blows. Synods were called together; and the public revenues suffered not a little by supplying post-chaises for these everlasting episcopal journeys, says Marcellinus.

‘Constantius Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens, in qua scrutanda perplexius quam componenda gravius, excitavit dissidia plurima, quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum: ut catervis antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus, per *synodos* quas appellant dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur arbitrium, rei vehiculariæ succederet nervos^c.’

Better was the state of the church, in some respects, before the days of Constantine; when Clemens Alexandrinus, and other fathers, could maintain some fantastical errors and philosophical reveries, without being persecuted, excommunicated, and anathematized by their brethren.

Athanasius, speaking of the Arian council of Ariminum, reproaches those bishops, that, in their profession of faith, they had dethroned Jesus Christ, and had set up Constantius in his place. You preface your creed, says he, with compliments to Constantius, whom you call *δεσπότην*, your *supreme master*, and *αἰώνιον βασιλέα*, *everlasting king*; but you will not call Christ *αἰδίου*, *eternal*. The Arians were not so wicked as to prefer Constantius to Christ; and so far the charge of Athanasius was too severe, and rather witty than true; but the compliments paid to the emperor by these bishops were really scandalous. The only thing that can be said for them is, that such *titles*, like some of our *modern titles*, are always supposed to be words without a meaning, and a kind of polite jargon.

It is strange that Christian emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries would suffer themselves to be called, *Your Eternity*, *Your Divinity*, *Your Godship*, *Numen*^d.

George, bishop of Alexandria, persecuted both the Consubstantialists and the Pagans of Alexandria; and

^c xxi. 16.

^d See Vossius De Idol. iii. 17. Barthius on Claudian, iii. Cons. Honor. Præf. 16. and Le Clerc, Parrhasian. i. 331.

would compel them all to conform to his opinions. He was hated by the populace, because he ruled them like a tyrant; and by men of rank and quality, because he presumed to domineer even over magistrates and governors. The Pagans held him in abomination, because he would not let them sacrifice, and observe their religious rites; and because, taking soldiers with him, he plundered their temples of every thing that he could carry off.

If we had this account of him only from Sozomen and other Consubstantialists, there might be some room to suspect that they had aggravated his faults. But Ammianus gives him a very bad character :

‘Born, as it was reported, in a fuller’s house, and raised up to the detriment of many, unhappily for himself and for the public, he was made bishop of Alexandria; a city which, even by its own disposition, and without any provocation, is prone to frequent and violent seditions. But these tumults were not a little increased by the behaviour of the bishop, who whispered his tales in the credulous ears of Constantius, and accused many of disobedience and rebellion, and took up the detestable trade of an informer; forgetting his own profession, which recommends nothing but what is just and mild. He and two more were murdered; and these miserable men might have been saved and protected by the Christians, if George had not been an object of universal hatred^e.’

Sandius, in his *Nucleus Hist. Eccles.* seems to represent this bishop as a saint and a martyr.

About these times the encroaching Julius, bishop of Rome, claimed much more authority than belonged to him^f.

Whilst the Arian controversy was warmly carried on, Athanasius and his partisans went to Rome, and engaged Julius in their favour, by putting themselves under his protection. There they contributed, though it was not their intention, to augment the insolence and the usurpations of the Romish see: for the good pope neglected not his own

^e Amm. Marc. xxii. 11.

^f Socrates, ii. 17. where see Valesius and Louth. Sozomen, iii. 8

interest; and followed the important maxim, ‘*Boni præsulis est ampliari jurisdictionem*’^g.

They were like the poor horse in the fable, who, having taken the man on his back to fight the stag, brought a cursed slavery on himself, and entailed it on his posterity :

‘*Non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.*’

In the time of Constantius, Sapor, the Persian king, besieged Nisibis, but could not take it; many miracles being wrought for its protection by James, the bishop of that city. So Theodoret^h assures us. Valesius observes, that Theodoret hath made some mistakes in his relation of the story.

James of Nisibis is said to have been a very good man, and a worker of several miracles. His piety we have no reason to call in question: of his miracles there is some cause to doubt. Here is one of them, by way of sample, as it is gravely related by Theodoret and Theodorus Lector :

As James was come into Persia, he passed by a fountain, where some young women were washing their linen, who making an indecent appearance, instead of covering themselves, stared at him in an impudent manner. Upon this he cursed the fountain, which instantly dried up, and changed the hair of the girls from a black to a sandy colour. Being humbly entreated by the inhabitants of the town, he restored the fountain to them; but left the girls their red (or gray) hair, because they had not applied to him, and begged pardonⁱ.

Gallus, the brother of the emperor Julian, took up the body of the martyr St. Babylas, and devoutly transported it from Antioch to Daphne; which he did by *inspiration*, says Chrysostom De Babyla. He loved, it seems, to prate about religion, and held martyrs and martyrs’ bones in great veneration; and had, as Jerom informs us, a princely disposition, *regiam indolem*. In truth, he was a worthless, stubborn, cruel prince. A proper person to have inspirations, and angels and saints at his bed’s head!

^g See S. Basnage Ann. ii. 783. Wetstein. Prol. ad N. T. p. 19.

^h ii. 30.

ⁱ Tillemont H. E. vii. 261. S. Basnage ii. 464.

‘En animam et mentem, cum qua Dñ nocte loquantur !

What Marcellinus relates concerning visions of another sort presenting themselves to Gallus, seems more probable :

‘When he slept, his sleep was restless, and he was haunted in his dreams by terrible apparitions ; and those whom he had slain seized him, as he thought, and dragged him away, and tormented him^k.’

It was contrary to the Roman laws, and according to the common notions of mankind, it was ever accounted an irreligious and sacrilegious thing, to disturb the ashes of the dead ; unless they had died abroad, and were brought back to their own country^l.

‘Qui corpus perpetuæ sepulturæ traditum, vel ad tempus alicui loco commendatum nudaverit, et solis radiis ostenderit, piaculum committit^m.’

Babylas is said, on this occasion, to have put the devil to flight, and to have silenced the oracle of Apollo Daphneus. Julian afterwards sent the martyr back, civilly enough, to his own original grave, where the Christians would not let him lie at quiet, but moved him again to some other place : for in those days the bones of a martyr had as little rest as a dog in a wheel.

Constantius, who was a zealous relique-monger, ordered the body of Timothy to be brought from Ephesus, and those of St. Andrew and St. Luke from Achaia, to Constantinople ; and thus (A. 356.) began the carrying of reliques from place to place, and the invention of ten thousand lies concerning the wonders wrought by the dead ; all which must have greatly scandalized the Pagansⁿ.

It is observable that the saints, whose *exuvie* wrought so many miracles in the fourth and following centuries, lost all their power or inclination to perform them at the Reformation. Doubtless they were offended at the wickedness of

^k xiv. 11.

^l Upon a monument, mentioned by Mabillon, are engraved these words :

‘Qui hic minxerit, aut cacaverit, habeat Deos superos et inferos iratos.’

^m Paulus Recept. Sentent. L. i.

ⁿ Fabricius B. Gr. vii. 172. S. Basnage ii. 835. Middleton Pref. to Letter from Rome.

the Protestants, and grew sullen upon it: as Catullus^o observes concerning the Pagan gods:

‘Sed postquam tellus scelere est imbuta nefando,—
Omnia fanda, nefanda, malo permista furore
Justificam nobis mentem avertere Deorum.
Quare nec tales dignantur visere cœtus,
Nec se contingi patiuntur lumine claro.’

A. 344. Sapor, the Persian king, instigated by the Magi and by the Jews, persecuted his Christian subjects, and put multitudes of them to death, who suffered with the utmost constancy and courage the most inhuman and horrible tortures; which is a good proof that they were virtuous and pious people. It is well known that the Persians were always barbarous and brutish in their punishments: it is usually so in despotic governments. Sozomen^p gives an account of this persecution. The relation is simple, honest, reasonable, and very different from the style and manner of most of the Martyrologies; and it was probably taken from the Memoirs of the Christians of Persia, Syria, and Edessa, who lived at the time. The sufferings of these Persian Christians were accompanied with no miracles, with none of the fantastical prodigies so often recorded on those occasions; which makes the narration the less liable to suspicion.

It is to be supposed that these eastern Christians, who had lived by connivance and toleration under a Pagan king, were better and more religious men than the Christian subjects of Constantius, who had nothing to fear at that time from unbelievers, and no persecution to endure, except that which they carried on against each other with wonderful alacrity.

A meteor was seen in the east, and at Jerusalem, representing a cross; and was accounted a miraculous sign^q.

A. 361. Eusebius of Samosata had been suspected and accused of Arianism; yet he was a Consubstantialist. The Arians and the Consubstantialists had agreed to choose Meletius to be bishop of Antioch, and subscribed to it, each party imagining that he was on their side. The

^o Epith. Thet. et Pel.

^p ii. 9.

^q Socrates. ii. 28. Sozomen,

Arians, finding themselves mistaken in their man, wanted to get the subscription out of the hands of Eusebius, with whom it had been deposited, to be kept by him. Constantius therefore sent an officer to command him to deliver it up; and to tell him, that if he refused, his right-hand was immediately to be cut off by the emperor's order. This was a stratagem contrived to intimidate him; for the emperor did not intend that the threatening should be executed. Eusebius held forth both his hands, and bade him cut them off; for, said he, I will not betray the trust. When Constantius heard of it, he greatly admired and commended the prelate for his courage and constancy. Valens afterwards banished Eusebius, and sent an officer to carry him away to Thrace. The officer came and told his order to Eusebius, who advised him by all means to keep it secret; for, said he, the people here are so full of zeal, that, if they knew your errand, they would instantly rise, and seize you, and fling you into the river; and so I should be the unhappy cause of your death. Eusebius therefore, at midnight, silently departed with the messenger.

An Arian bishop was put in his place; but the people of Samosata would not speak to the new prelate, and shunned the very sight of him.

A. 341. Of the Canons of the Council of Antioch, the twenty-fifth is concerning ecclesiastical revenues. It orders, that bishops shall have out of them as much as sufficeth for food and raiment, and exercising hospitality; and no more^r.

A. 350. The emperor Constans was slain by the tyrant Magnentius. Athanasius and Baronius make him a saint and a martyr; titles to which he had small pretensions. But he had been a *high-church-man*; and that was enough.

'Constans,' says Athanasius, 'a most holy prince, was murdered by the execrable Magnentius, and received the crown of martyrdom.' There are indeed many proofs that Constans was full of zeal for the church: but if we may say the plain truth, his morals were most unworthy of a Christian and a martyr. When a prince showed an affection for the bishops, and for the peace of the church, as a kind of atonement for his vices, the antients complimented him

with the title of *most religious*, and bestowed it even upon Gallienus. Though willing to commend whatsoever was commendable in Constans, yet we cannot approve his dissolute life^s.

Zonaras gives him an exceeding bad character.

In this century, the monastic life came into great vogue; and along with it pious frauds, and the spirit of persecution.

‘Many monks, for a considerable time before, had dwelt each of them alone in the desert parts of Ægypt: but Antony, in the year 305, first collected them into societies in Ægypt. So that in a short time the east abounded with men, who, forsaking the affairs and the conveniences of life, and all commerce with the public, pined away in hunger, thirst, bodily pain, and macerations of all sorts, that they might ascend to a communion with angels and with God.’

This melancholy discipline passed over from the east to the west; and first it crept into Italy, and thence by degrees into other provinces of Europe. But they who would be well acquainted with the nature of this religious system, should observe, that there was ever a wide difference between the western and the eastern monks; and that the former could never be tied up to the cruel severities which were practised by the latter. The truth is, our part of the world doth not so much abound with persons by nature rigid, morose, fanatical, and crack-brained, as those regions do, which are exposed to the eastern sun; nor can our bodies endure the same abstinence and harsh discipline, which they are capable of bearing who are natives of a dry and burning climate.

To these religious distempers, two capital errors are to be added, which, in this age, were almost generally adopted; and from which innumerable calamities were derived.

The first is: To lie and to deceive becomes a virtue, if religion can be profited by it. The second is; The wrong notions and mistakes of men in matters of faith, if upon admonition they are not renounced and anathematized, are to be chastised with bodily pains and punishments.

It is hardly possible to enumerate the multitude of ridiculous legends, false reports, and pious lies, which was

propagated and continued through all ensuing ages, to the grievous detriment of true religion, by virtue of the first of these maxims, which indeed had found reception in the foregoing centuries, in some measure. A curious and critical examiner of the actions and writings of the most eminent and pious doctors of this age, will, I fear, find almost all of them infected with this leprosy; not excepting Ambrose, or Hilary, or Augustin, or Gregory Nazianzen, or Jerom. And perhaps, by the same principle, Sulpitius Severus, in other respects a man of good sense, was induced to ascribe so many miracles to his hero St. Martin.

The latter of the abovementioned maxims, being approved by many, as soon as Constantine had given peace and power to the church, and corroborated by examples of severity in the ensuing contests with the Priscillianists and Donatists, and firmly established by the authority of Augustin, was transmitted as wholesome doctrine and discipline to the following ages¹.

Many serious Christians would not be so misled by the miracles of the fourth and following centuries, or so perplexed about them, or so fearful of rejecting them, if they had considered how soon a notion got admittance; that it was lawful to lie and to deceive in behalf of Christianity and of orthodoxy.

¹ In the time of Constantine and of his successors, the *papyrus*, or Ægyptian paper, was still in vogue throughout the empire. It was in this age, or thereabouts, that was written the famous copy of the Gospel of St. Mark, which is still kept in the treasury of Venice. I have seen and examined it, as far as one can examine a manuscript which is almost entirely effaced, and so rotten, that, the leaves sticking together, if you try to turn over one, all falls to pieces. These leaves of Ægyptian paper seemed more delicate than any of those which I have seen in different places. By the form of the letters, it appeared to me the most antient manuscript that is known; and I believe it may safely be affirmed, that, to set it at the lowest time, it is of the fourth century. It is now one hundred and forty-six years since it hath been deposited in a subterraneous vault, the top of

¹ Mosheim, H. E. p. 168; 153, ed. 1764.

which is lower than the neighbouring sea when it flows. So that the water continually drops upon those whose curiosity brings them to view it. This extreme dampness has reduced the poor book to such a condition that there is no possibility of reading two words together. But it was legible when it was first placed there, in 1564.

‘The tax upon the importation of this paper being too heavy, towards the end of the fifth century, or the beginning of the sixth, Theodoric, king of Italy, an equitable prince, relieved the public of this imposition’^u.

This Gospel of St Mark is in Latin.

Julian began to reign A. 361, and died in 363. This emperor had tolerable abilities, and a few good qualities, debased with ridiculous and pedantic singularities, and with great faults. He was a superstitious Pagan, and an inveterate enemy to Christianity. He was guilty of many mean, infamous, oppressive, unjust, and inhuman actions towards the Christians. Thus he ungratefully suffered Mark, bishop of Arethusa, a venerable old man, to be cruelly tormented by the Pagans, though Mark had saved Julian’s life, by hiding him in a church, in his infancy.

The causes which brought on his apostacy might be perhaps a hatred for Constantius, whom indeed he had no great reason to esteem; a love for philosophy; the Arian and Athanasian controversy carried on with so much fury; and the behaviour of many ecclesiastics, which had not been amiable and alluring; a study of Pagan authors; and a familiar acquaintance with Pagan grammarians, poets, orators, and philosophers. The Platonists took early possession of him, and made him not only a Pagan, but an enthusiast like themselves.

It is a question not easily to be resolved, whether the Christians might or might not have found some method to soften him, and to make him at least a cooler adversary. For, on the one hand, Julian loved to be praised; and, on the other, he was extremely obstinate and positive. ‘Nusquam a proposito declinabat; Galli similis fratris, licet incruentus,’ says Ammianus. They might have commended

^u Montfaucon, Mem. de l’Acad. t. ix. et Ant. Expl. Suppl. t. iii. p. 208. et Diar. Ital. Cave i. 24.

what was really commendable in him; and have entreated him to imitate the wise Ulysses (for Julian was a classical man), who, in Homer, had the lovely character of being ‘Father of all his subjects’^x: a character which no prince could hope to obtain, unless he left every one free to choose his religion, and to serve the Deity in his own way. But they had not amongst them one apologist to try the experiment, and to address him a discourse, handsomely drawn up, in favour of religious liberty. Some Pagan philosophers undertook the honourable task, and exhorted Julian to allow all persons liberty of conscience. To say the truth, the Christians in Julian’s time were not in that way of thinking.

‘There was at Berœa a man illustrious on account of his rank and station, but more so for his religious zeal. His son had apostatized from the faith, and embraced Paganism; for which he expelled him from his house and disinherited him. The young man applied to Julian, who undertook to reconcile him to his father; and invited the principal persons of Berœa to an entertainment, amongst whom were the father and the son. Julian caused them to sit down by him; and, after some time, he said to the father, It seems to me not reasonable to force the inclinations; therefore do not compel your son to follow your opinions, as I do not compel you to follow mine, though I have it in my power to use violence. Then the father, animated with a pious zeal, replied, Do you speak to me, sir, in favour of a rascal abhorred of God, who hath preferred lies to the truth? Friend, said Julian, putting on the appearance of gentleness, let us have no invectives: and turning to the son, he added, I will take care of you myself, since I cannot prevail with your father. This fact I thought it convenient to record, to show the admirable boldness of this excellent man.’

Thus says Theodoret^y. But some persons perhaps will be inclined to call the bishop’s judgment in question; and to think that the father did not act prudently, and that he lost an opportunity of doing more service to the Christian cause than could arise from discarding his son. He might have said to the emperor; Though I am greatly displeased and concerned at my son’s bad choice, yet at your

^x —πατήρ δ’ ὡς ἥπιος ἦεν. Odyss. B. 233:

^y iii. 22:

desire I will not disinherit him, upon condition that you will grant us the same favour, that you will not disinherit us; that you will consider yourself as our common parent, and not oppress your Christians subjects, or suffer others to insult and injure them.

Justinian made a law that a son should not be disinherited for entering into a state of monkery against his father's will.

Though the heart of Julian was fully set on subverting Christianity, yet he omitted the most probable way to effect it, which would have been to choose some person of family, reputation, and abilities, and of his own religion, and to adopt him for his son and successor, who might carry on the great and important scheme which he had begun, and re-establish Paganism. Either he could not find a man altogether to his mind, or he was not willing to share his power with another; or he feared lest he should be served as he had served Constantius, and raise up a Cæsar who might forget his obligations. But by avoiding and declining this method, his wild and ill-concerted plan of destroying Christianity fell with him; which was no more than he might easily have foreseen. After a very short reign, like the persecuting emperors before him, he was cut off in the midst of his days, in his expedition against the Persians, undertaken rashly, and conducted wretchedly.

'They' who represent Julian as the greatest of men and of princes, either are blinded by prejudice, or never attentively perused his works, or know not the qualities which make a man truly great and good. Take away his ingeniousness, which yet was by no means superlative, his military prowess, his love of literature, his knowledge of the later Platonism, which was a fanatical jargon, and his patience in bearing toil and fatigue, the rest was a small matter. To his good qualities many bad ones stand opposed: as a contemptible superstition, which is a sure mark of a little mind, a childish affectation of popular applause, an excessive credulity and levity, a crafty and disingenuous spirit, and an ignorance of solid and rational philosophy. If in some things he was a greater prince than any of the sons

* As Montesquieu, and others.

of Constantine, he was much inferior to Constantine, though he ever affected to scorn and to censure him^a.

Julian invited Chrysanthus, and other philosophers and magicians, to come and live at court. Chrysanthus declined the favour; and being appointed high-priest of Lydia by the emperor, he exercised his function with great moderation. He rebuilt no temples, whilst the Pagans in other places were very busy at that work, and he did no harm to the Christians. He and a few other philosophers behaved themselves prudently on this flattering occasion, as foreseeing^b, without the help of magic, the revolution which might probably soon ensue. These rats did not care to sail in a rotten ship.

Julian, in an epistle to Arsacius, says;

I am willing to relieve the Pessinuntians, if they restore the worship of the mother of the gods; else they may expect from me, not only no favour, but nothing less than the effects of a just resentment:

Οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν, ἢ ἐλεαίρειν
 Ἄνδρας, οἵ κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθονται ἀθανάτοισιν.

Thus they have given us these lines in Sozomen^c. But the second line may be corrected thus;

ΑΝΕΡΑΣ, οἳ ΚΕ θεοῖσιν ΑΠΕΧΘΟΝΤ' ἀθανάτοισιν.

Julian took them from Homer^d;

Οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν, οὐδ' ἀποπέμπειν
 Ἄνδρα τὸν, ὅς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθηται μακάρεσσιν.

'Non enim mihi fas est excipere neque dimittere
 Virum illum, qui diis invisus sit beatis.'

The Romans were plagued with a set of public officers, belonging to the emperor's court, called *curiosi*, and *imperatoris oculi*, part of whose employment was to go about as detectors of frauds and misdemeanors. These *trading justices* used to commit to prison whom they thought fit, and extort money from the innocent, and share the plunder

^a Mosheim, 147.

^b See Tillemont, H. des Emp. iv. 512.

^c v. 16.

^d Odys. K. 73.

with the guilty ; and Libanius represents them as the vilest of mankind. Constantius (A. 355.) published a law to curb them, leaving them only the office of *informers* ; and threatening to make examples of them, if they accused any man falsely. But Julian took a shorter and a more effectual method, and totally suppressed them, and cleared the palace and the country of this vermin. They crept into office again, and were turned out by Honorius ^e.

These men were called ‘ the eyes of the emperor.’ The prophets of old were ^f called ‘ the mouth of the Lord.’ Perhaps, says Dodwell ^g, the Hebrews imitated the eastern princes, who gave to their ministers the names of those members of the body whose functions represented their office. Thus in Persia there were officers who were called ‘ the eyes of the king ^h ;’ others ‘ the ears of the king.’ And it is not improbable that Zachariah ⁱ alludes to this custom, when he calls seven angels ‘ the seven eyes of God.’

Julian kept a devil, by way of running footman ; and sent him from Persia, to bring him back word what was passing in the west. But Publius the monk stopped him, by continuing in prayer for ten days together. This miracle converted one of Julian’s officers ^k.

When Julian sent to consult the gods concerning his Persian expedition, the poor priest of one of the oracles was so stupid, that he returned this response to the emperor, by way of poetry :

Νῦν πάντες ὠρμήθημεν Θεοὶ νίκης τρόπαια κομίσασθαι
παρὰ Σηρὶ ποταμῶν τῶν δ’ ἐγὼ ἡγεμονεύσω Σούρος πολε-
μόκλονος Ἀρης.

‘ Universi nunc Dii parati sumus victoriae tropæa ferre juxta *Ferum amnem* : horum vero ego dux ero, violentus ac bellipotens Mars ^l.’

By Σηρὶ ποταμῶν, the priest, I suppose, meant the river Tigris. The editors of Theodoret have not explained it.

In the time of this emperor, a boy, who was the son of a Pagan priest, embraced Christianity. A woman of great piety, and a deaconess in the church, was intimate with the

^e Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxix. p. 192. and Gothofred.

^f Exod. iv. 16. vii. 1.

^g De Jure Laicorum.

^h See Æschylus Pers. 984. and the notes of Stanley.

ⁱ xv. 10.

^k Tillemont, H. E. viii. 338.

^l Theodoret. iii. 21.

boy's mother ; and had often exhorted the child to imitate the Christians, and to be religious. The mother died, and the child continued to visit the woman ; and, being desirous to profess Christianity, asked her what method he should take. She advised him to elope from his father, and to hide himself in some other town.—So said, and so done. She took him and carried him to Meletius, who kept him in an upper room. The father, searching about for him, saw him peeping out of the window ; and went directly up, and seized and carried him home. First he whipped him, then he burned him with an iron, and then locked him up in a chamber. The boy, left to himself, brake his father's idols to pieces ; and then, reflecting upon the danger he was in, he prayed most earnestly to Jesus Christ to help him. Instantly the door flew open, and he escaped, and went directly to the woman. She took him again to Meletius, and he gave him to Cyril of Jerusalem, who carried him to Palæstine, where he dwelt safely ; and, after the death of Julian, he made himself known to his father, and converted him to Christianity. He told me this story with his own mouth, says Theodoret^m, when he was an old man.

Mark of Arethusa suffered under Julian. See Remarks on Eccl. Hist. ii. 65, concerning this martyr or confessor ; for it is not agreed whether he died of his torments or not. The ecclesiastical writers, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Gregory Nazianzen, know only one Mark of Arethusa ; but Valesius conjectures that there were two, in his notes on Sozomenⁿ. His proofs are not conclusive. There might indeed have been more bishops than one in those times who had the name of Mark ; but we find only one Mark of Arethusa.

A. 362. Lucifer Calaritanus was a furious zealot, of whose works Du Pin gives us this character ; that they are void of art, eloquence, reason, decency, and moderation ; and delivered in a mean and barbarous style. This man was the father of a schismatical party : for in those days, as well as in these, every *booby* could make a *sect*.

A. 363. Jovian was advanced to the empire. He made a law, says Themistius, that every one should be at liberty

^m iii. 14.

ⁿ v. 10.

to serve God after his own way; for which this Pagan orator highly commends him. The law is not extant, and perhaps Themistius was, in some measure, mistaken; and the emperor had only declared that he would force no man to act against his own conscience. See Fabricius^o, and Tillemont^p. Bleterie^q hath made some good remarks on the occasion. I wish his countrymen may profit by them, and learn at last to hate persecution.

Jovian was persuaded, it is to be supposed, by the ecclesiastics, to publish a decree^r, that whosoever courted a nun, and enticed her to marriage, should be put to death. This law was judged too severe, and was mitigated in following times.

Athanasius extolled the piety of Jovian; and, by way of recompense, promised him a long and happy reign.—*Τὴν βασιλείαν μετ' εἰρήνης πολλαῖς ἐτῶν περιόδοις ἐπιτελέσεις.* 'Imperium multis annorum curriculis pacate gubernaturus es^s.'

But the good bishop's *μαντική* failed him sadly; and the emperor reigned only one year, and died in the flower of his age.

'Posterior autem pars hujus periodi in vulgatis Athanasii editionibus desideratur: eamque Baronius adjectam existimat ab Ariano quopiam, qui Athanasium irridere vellet tanquam falsum vatem. Neque enim imperium Joviani diu stetit. Mihi tamen nihil hic adulterinum ac supposititium videtur: nec vituperandus idcirco est Athanasius, si Jovianus non tot annos in principatu vixit, quot Athanasius eum vivere optaverat^t.'

This prophetic sentence, says Baronius, was foisted in by the wicked Arians to ridicule Athanasius. An unprejudiced critic would rather conclude that it was left out of some copies by the Athanasians, lest it should give occasion to the Arians to deride Athanasius as a false prophet. The passage is genuine, and the favourable interpretation of Valesius is preferable to the foolish conjecture of the cardinal; and we may consider the words of Athanasius as words of course, as compliments and pious ejaculations; though cer-

^o Bibl. Gr. viii. 56.

^p Hist. des Emp. iv. 505.

^q Hist. de Jovien.

^r Chron. Cod. Theod. p. lxxviii.

^s Apud Theodoret. iv. 3.

^t Valesius.

tainly it had been more prudent in him to have dressed up his civilities rather in the form of a wish than of a promise.

Jovian died suddenly; and Baronius, as being one of the privy council of Heaven, declares that this emperor was taken out of the world by a divine judgment, because he had made a decent funeral for his predecessor Julian. So then Jovian's orthodoxy, and the kindness which he showed to the Consubstantialists and to Athanasius, could not atone for the horrid crime of showing some civility to Julian's bones.

Such churchmen are much fitter to draw up an *index expurgatorius*, or to preside at an *inquisition*, than to write *ecclesiastical history*^u.

A. 363. A sect arose of men called Messalians, who, if we may trust to ecclesiastical writers, were lazy vagabonds, and frantic enthusiasts. They began to appear in a warm climate, in Mesopotamia, and thence repaired to Antioch. The bishops cleared their dioceses of this vermin, by burning the monasteries into which they had gotten access, and by sending them all into banishment. An expeditious way certainly, but not the most Christian way of illuminating these heretics^x.

The father of this sect was one Peter, called Lycopetrus, or Peter the Wolf; because, when he was to be stoned to death for his blasphemies, he promised his followers that on the third day he would rise again. But at the time appointed, the devil, in the shape of a wolf, was seen to come out from under the stones. Thus saith Euthymius Zigabenus, a monk of the twelfth century.

A. 364. Valentinian I. was made emperor, and shared the empire with his brother Valens.

He was a confessor, but in the military way; for once, in the presence of Julian, he buffeted a Pagan priest, who had thrown holy water upon him; and, on account of this offence, he was cashiered by Julian, and sent from the army into banishment.

He declared himself an enemy to all persecution, and a tolerator of all religious sects. Ammianus says;

^u See Basnage iii. 1.

^x Theodoret iv. 11. Basnage iii. 91. Tillemont viii. 527.

‘Inclaruit hoc moderamine principatûs, quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit; nec quenquam inquietavit, neque ut hoc coleretur imperavit, aut illud; nec interdictis minacibus subjectorum cervicem ad id quod ipse coluit, inclinabat, sed intemeratas reliquit has partes, ut reperit.’

A. 367. The same writer records a prodigy, which perplexed the learned in divination. An ass clambered up into the judgment-seat, and there brayed long and loud.

‘Hoc tempore, nova portenti species per Annonariam apparuit Tusciam: idque quorsum evaderet prodigialium rerum periti penitus ignorarunt. In oppido enim Pistoriensi, prope horam diei tertiam, spectantibus multis, asinus tribunali adscenso audiebatur destinatus rugiens.’

The most obvious interpretation of this was, that *asses* would be made *judges* and *magistrates*. But perhaps the soothsayers thought that such common events did not deserve to be foretold by portents and prodigies, and therefore sought in vain for some hidden meaning.

A. 369. The council of Gangra made some good canons. These fathers condemned those who censure matrimony, and say that wives and husbands cohabiting together cannot be saved: those who separate themselves from a presbyter who hath been married, and will not receive the communion from his hands: those who embrace a state of celibacy and continence, not for the sake of piety, but through an abhorrence of marriage, and who insult and revile married persons: those women who for the same cause forsake their husbands: those parents who leave their children under pretence of leading a solitary life, and neglect to feed and instruct them: children who under the same pretence forsake their parents: slaves who run away from their masters for the like reasons: those who require abstinence from flesh, &c.

These canons were not made for nothing. Superstition and monkery were grown so troublesome and audacious, that the council found it absolutely necessary to endeavour to curb this spirit^z.

A. 372. Some Pagan philosophers, desirous to know who should succeed Valens, had recourse to magic arts; and

^y xxvii. 3.

^z See Fleury iv. 324.

found out that his name should be ΘΕΟΔ—This being discovered by Valens, he put several to death, who had been concerned in the affair. He had for his successor Theodosius, whose elevation to the empire was at that time beyond the reach of human foresight or conjecture. This story, with abundance of circumstances confirming it, is related by contemporaries, by Pagans and Christians, by Ammianus Marcellinus, Zosimus, Socrates, Sozomen, and others; and seems, whether true or false, to be the most attested instance of Pagan and magical divination that is extant in history.

A. 375. Valentinian died suddenly in a transport of rage.

‘It is a melancholy thing to consider a Christian prince dying in such a state of mind, after having signalized his government by severities exercised on unlawful occasions, which seem to deserve no better name than cruelties. St. Ambrose, however, represents him as *interceding* with God for Valentinian II. his son^a.’

Ambrose had done much better, if he had said nothing about this *intercession*; which reminds me of a story full as good:

‘The news of Oliver Cromwell’s death being brought to those who were met together to pray for him, Mr. Sterry stood up, and desired them not to be troubled. For, said he, this is good news; because, if he was of great use to the people of God, when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven, to sit at the right-hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us upon all occasions^b.’

There is a constitution of Valentinian, in which he declares himself a friend to toleration:

‘Neque aliquam concessam a majoribus religionem genus esse arbitror criminis. Testes sunt leges a me in exordio imperii mei datæ, in quibus unicuique quod animo imbuisset colendi libera facultas tributa est. Nec haruspicinam reprehendimus, sed nocenter exerceri vetamus.’

‘If the emperor did not entirely persevere in this honest

^a Tillemont Hist. des Emp. v. 74.

^b Ludlow’s Memoirs, ii. 611.

resolution to the end of his days, it is probably to be ascribed to the importunate solicitations of ecclesiastics; who being maintained by certain opinions, and determined to establish their own sentiments, could not suffer men of a different religion to be treated with common humanity; and teased the emperors so much about it, that at length there was a kind of necessity to persecute Pagans, heretics, and schismatics, for the sake of repose; and to dishonour the Christian religion, that they might satisfy those saints who pretended to be its only supporters. The same evil hath been seen and felt in our days; and they who, by the essential duty of their function, should dissuade the civil magistrate from persecuting, if he were inclined to it, are the first movers of all vexations and cruelties committed under the pretence of religion^c.

Let us now hear Tillemont.

^c Baronius blames that kind of indifference which Valentinian seemed to entertain for the Christian and Catholic faith; and pretends that it was the cause of the calamities of his family, and of the untimely and violent death of Gratian and Valentinian, his children. We shall not take upon us to judge of this conduct of Valentinian, or to examine whether it be expedient that princes should meddle little or much with the concerns of the church. It is certain, on the one hand, that the interests of religion should be dearer to them than even those of the state. They ought to serve God as princes, by doing what princes alone can perform, and by using their utmost endeavour that he be served by all their subjects as he ought to be. Yet when we compare the advantages which the church received from such emperors as Constantine and Theodosius, with the dreadful evils which it suffered from Constantius, Valens, and even Theodosius Junior, and several others, there is room to doubt whether it would be more to its advantage to have at all times princes not disposed to meddle with matters of religion, and only attentive to the execution of the laws relating to justice and equity. St. Louis perhaps was happy enough to hit upon the just mean, to exert a zeal and

^c Le Clerc Bibl. Chois: xi: 256.

diligence in maintaining the authority of the church, and the rules of piety, and to *leave to the bishops* the decision of all dubious and contested points.

‘Notwithstanding, since it is not to be expected that the moderation of good princes will ever stop the malignity of those rulers who, through error or bad counsels, will be enemies to the truth, I know not whether the consideration of the evils which these may cause by abusing their power, should restrain the former from exerting their authority in favour of righteousness, if they take care to be well instructed, which is often not easy to be done; and if they oppose evil only by just and legal methods, without ever forgetting the humanity that is due even towards the wicked.

‘But what rule soever ought to be observed in so difficult a point, it must be owned, that, whether by real prudence or by false policy, Valentinian did not always exert all the zeal which might have been expected from a confessor. Certain it is, that he committed a great fault, and as prejudicial to his own honour and conscience as to the church, when, instead of expelling Auxentius, an Arian, and an usurper of the see of Milan, he not only tolerated him, but joined himself to his communion; and disturbed the church by rigorous edicts, to oblige others to do the same: and when St. Hilary opposed this scandal with his usual magnanimity, he commanded him to quit Milan.

‘It should also seem that, having such absolute authority as history represents him to have had over his brother Valens, he ought to have restrained him from waging open and cruel war with the catholic church. He did also great hurt to the church by marrying Justina, who was an Arian. But this was excuseable, since, as long as he lived, Justina concealed her heresy.’

Thus Tillemont^d; and he is placid and moderate upon the subject, compared to Baronius, who breathes nothing but fire and brimstone; and who accounted kings and emperors to be mere constables and catchpoles, bound to execute with implicit faith and blind submission all the commands of insolent ecclesiastics.

^d Hist. des Emp. v. 10.

It is indeed strange that Valentinian did not exert himself in requiring his brother Valens to show more humanity to the Consubstantialists: in this respect, I see not how he can possibly be justified. But as to his own notions of toleration, he cannot be too much commended; and indeed he hath this honour to himself, and no Christian emperor of those times to share it with him.

He made a law^e, that Christians should not be compelled to watch and guard the Pagan temples; and a very reasonable law it was. The office was only fit for Pagans.

He protected^f the Jews; and would not suffer their synagogues to be profaned, plundered, or demolished: which must have grieved the righteous souls of the Baroniuses and the Bellarmins of those days.

He was also a singular friend and patron of letters, and of learned men. 'Literarum studiis et sectatoribus Romæ enixe consuluit^g.

Alas! that such princes should not arise, once at least in a century, for the encouragement of literature!

He found it necessary to make a law^h against pious donations to the clergy and to the monks, who preyed upon stupid bigots, and devoured widows' houses.

Baronius is highly offended at this decree: yet even Jerom and Ambrose thought fit to approve it; and Gothofred, on the Theodosian Code, defends it against the censures of Baronius. Fleury says fairly of it, that it was 'a law shameful to the clergy, but yet necessary.'

Baronius, Basnage, and Fleury imagine that Damasus himself, though bishop of Rome, advised the emperor to make this law. If so, I will add a conjecture to theirs. Perhaps Damasus gave this advice, that the inferior clergy of his diocese might not grow too wealthy and independent, and less submissive to his will and pleasure; and that none might be great and rich besides himself and his successors. The bishopric of Rome, even at that time, was a noble post, as Damasus well knew, who possessed it, and who had *fought* for it, but not a *good fight*. Upon which

^e Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. i. p. 3.

^f Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. viii. p. 334. et Gothofred.

^g Gothofred. Chron. Cod. Theod. p. 88.

^h Cod. Theod. t. vi. p. 48. Basnage iii. 28.

occasion Ammianus Marcellinus hath made some proper remarks:

‘Damasus et Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopatus sedem ardentibus, scissis studiis asperissime conflictabantur, adusque mortis vulnorumque discrimina adjumentis utriusque progressis; quæ nec corrigere sufficiens Juventius, nec mollire, coactus vi magna, secessit in suburbanum. Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quæ ei favebat instante.—Constatque in Basilica Sicinini, ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremtorum; efferatamque diu plebem ægre postea delenitam. Neque ego abnuo, ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos ob impetrandum quod appetunt omni contentione laterum jurgari debere: cum id adepti, futuri sint ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspecte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas. Qui esse poterant *Beati* revera, si magnitudine urbis despecta, quam vitius opponunt, ad imitationem antistitum quorundam provincialium viverent; quos tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, et supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo Numini verisque ejus cultoribus ut puros commendant et verecundos¹.

Theodoret pays high compliments^k to the memory of Damasus. Δάμασος παμπόλλοις ἀρετῆς κοσμούμενος εἶδεν. — Ἀξιεπαινέτω βίῳ κοσμούμενος, καὶ πάντα λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δογμάτων αἰρούμενος.— Δάμασος ὁ πανεύφημος.—Ὁ Θαυμασίος Δάμασος.

‘Vir omni genere virtutis ornatus.—Sanctitate vitæ conspicuus, et qui pro apostolica doctrina nihil non dicere atque agere paratus esset.—Laudatissimus Damasus.—Admirandus Damasus.’

He reckons Damasus and Ambrose amongst the most strenuous defenders of the faith, and confuters of heretics.

Now let us see some of the exploits of our Θαυμάσιος.

In the year 366, Damasus and Ursinus fought for the

¹ xxvii. 3.

^k ii. 22. iv. 30. v. 2. 9. 23.

bishopric of Rome. The party of Damasus was victorious; and many were slain in the contest.

He was made bishop when he was sixty years old; a time of life in which a man who had a grain of philosophy, not to say of Christianity, would be extremely indifferent about preferments and promotions, and not think of purchasing them in such a manner.

Saint Basil¹ gives Saint Damasus a very unfavourable character; and taxes him with pride and insolence, and contempt of other ecclesiastics, as inferior to himself in station and dignity. He says, that there was no gaining his favour but by sordid submissions, and flatteries beneath a man of honour. He cannot refrain from venting his chagrin upon this occasion; and from saying, that his brother Gregory was, of all persons, the most unfit to be sent a deputy to Rome, because he had too little of the courtier; and was too frank, and blunt, and simple, to enter into a conference with a proud pope, whose exaltation had turned his head; and who could not bear plain dealing and honest freedom.

It is diverting enough to see how Tillemont mumbles and softens all this^m.

Damasus, with a view to extend his jurisdiction in the East, appointed the bishop of Thessalonica to be vicar of the holy see, and the pope's deputy. 'Weⁿ cannot see,' says Tillemont, 'what right he had to do this.' Can you not see it? He had the same right that a highwayman hath to take a purse.

He was, however, to do the man justice, a most active and vigilant prelate, the terror and the scourge of all heretics and schismatics, whom he harassed, excommunicated, and drove into banishment; and when they assembled together, he used to send his ecclesiastics, with constables and other ruffians, to beat them and dislodge them. So say his adversaries; and what they say was true in all probability.

Yet he wrote in defence of Symmachus, a man of quality, and of considerable abilities, a steady and bigoted Pagan, who was falsely accused of having oppressed some of the Christians.

¹ Epist. 150. and Du Pin.

^m ix. 225.

ⁿ xii. 402.

He had the wit to pay much honour and respect to Jerom, and to consult him as his master and teacher; and Jerom, who was a warm friend as well as a warm foe, repaid these favours with compliments and commendations.

In a letter to Jerom, he declares that he could not endure to read the works of Lactantius, because they were too prolix, and not godly enough. Such was his taste!

He composed some pastoral letters, and books of devotion, and pious poems. The Latin church hath canonized him; and therefore Tillemont calls him Saint Damasus: but Du Pin calls him Pope Damasus, judging, I suppose, that title to be good enough for him^o.

A stone^p, it is said, was found in Catalonia, with this inscription; which, I think, hath the air of a modern forgery:

‘HIC NATVS DAMASVS PONTIFEX ROMANVS DIS-
CIPVLVS ET MONACHVS S. HIERONYMI PRESBY-
TERI, QVI OBIIT ERA CAESARIS CCCCV.’

Prætextatus, a man of quality, and a Pagan, who died consul elect, used to say to Damasus; Make me bishop of Rome, and I will be a Christian as soon as you please. ‘Homo sacrilegus,’ says Jerom, ‘et idolorum cultor solebat ludens beato papæ Damaso dicere,—Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum, et protinus ero Christianus.’

Ammianus Marcellinus^q gives this Prætextatus a very good character; and represents him as an excellent magistrate.

The writer of the Life of Damasus says, that he wrought many miracles; but Faustinus and Marcellinus have recorded his exploits of another kind:

‘Marcellinus and Faustinus, two presbyters of the church of Rome, presented to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, a complaint against Damasus, which is published in the Opera Sirmundi. These presbyters inform the emperors, that under Constantius the orthodox were persecuted, and Athanasius condemned; that Liberius, bishop of Rome, together with three other prelates, re-

^o Concerning Damasus, see Socrates iv. 29. Marcellinus xxvii. Tillemont ix. Le Clerc Bibl. A. et M. xxviii. 246. Basnage iii. 13. 19, 20.

^p Wætchler ‘De Cancellariis Veterum.’

^q xxvii. 9.

fusing to consent to his condemnation, were sent into banishment; that Liberius setting out to the place whither he was ordered to go, Damasus, his deacon, made as though he would accompany him, but left him, as they were upon the way, and went back to Rome; that on the same day on which Liberius departed, all the clergy of Rome, namely, the presbyters, Felix the archdeacon, and Damasus the deacon, and all who had any function in the church, being assembled, in the presence of the Roman people, swore that they would not choose another bishop whilst Liberius was living; that nevertheless some of the clergy, against their promise and their oath, and against all decency, chose Felix the archdeacon, who was ordained in the room of Liberius, to the great dissatisfaction of all the people; that, after three years, Liberius being recalled, the people received him with much joy, and drove Felix out of the city. After these things, say they, Liberius died, having forgiven those ecclesiastics who had rebelled against him. Then those presbyters and deacons, and the brethren who had been faithful to Liberius during his exile, proceeded to an election in the Julian church, and chose Ursinus, who was consecrated by Paul, bishop of Tibur. Upon this Damasus, who had always been making interest for the bishopric, hired and drew together the charioteers and the rude rabble, and with them forced his way into the church, and committed great disorders for three days together, in which many of the faithful were massacred. Seven days after this, with the perjured crew that followed him, and with a band of gladiators, to whom he had given large sums of money, he seized the Lateran church, and was there ordained. Then having bribed two magistrates of the city, he caused Ursinus, a venerable man, who had been first made bishop, to be sent into banishment, with the deacons Amantius and Lupus. The Roman people assembled together, and would have hindered Damasus from taking possession of the pontificate; but he cleared his way through them by blows and bastinadoes; and some died of the wounds which they had received. He also attempted to drive out of the city seven presbyters, who were put into prison by the magistrates; but the faithful people rescued them, and carried them into

the church of Liberius. Then Damasus, with the ecclesiastics of his faction, joined to gladiators, charioteers, and rustics, armed with hatchets, swords, and clubs, besieged the church, and began a furious battle, setting fire to the doors, and bursting them open, whilst others of his partisans had clambered up, and were pelting their adversaries with tiles from the top of the edifice. Thus the Damasians forced their way in, and slew a hundred and sixty persons, men and women, and wounded several, who died afterwards; but of the party of Damasus not one was slain. The people cried out for justice, and for the expulsion of Damasus; but the prelate had taken his measures so well, that nothing was done against him: and it appears from the relation, of which we are giving an abstract, that the ladies, who in great cities like Rome are no inconsiderable party, favoured the conqueror, who was admirably skilled in the arts of flattering and cajoling them; for which reason he had the honour to be called *Matronarum Auriscalpius*, the Ear-picker of the Ladies. The strangest part of the story is, that, notwithstanding all these things, Damasus was a great saint, and miracles were wrought in his favour after his death. See Baronius, or his abbreviator Spondanus, on the year 386. Either he was much altered for the better, after he had gained the see of Rome, sword in hand, or, at least, after he had gained it by the violence of his partisans, or these miracles were mere fables. A conqueror, obtaining the episcopal throne by breaking open churches and shedding blood, presents not to our imagination the idea of a holy prelate. If faults had been committed on both sides, which is usually the case in contests of this kind, neither Damasus nor Ursinus ought to have been employed in the service of the church, and least of all in the service of the church of Rome. They should have retired both of them to some solitary place, to show that they had never desired to obtain a dignity which had occasioned so scandalous a battle, and which must have given the Pagans a very bad opinion of the Roman clergy, as it appears from the remarks of Marcellinus the historian, who yet was a man of candour and moderation[†].

Damasus was the first pope who introduced the laudable

† Le Clerc Bibl. A. et M. xxviii. 246.

custom of celebrating with festivity and solemnity his birthday, on which so great a blessing was conferred upon the Christian church. His successors followed his example^a.

In the reign of Valentinian lived Ephraim Syrus. See in Tillemont an account of his imprisonment and deliverance; and of all the strange things that befel him and his fellow-sufferers. The story is pretty enough, and more amusing than many a modern romance. Gregory Nyssen hath written an injudicious and fanatical account of this Ephraim, who seems to have been a pious humble man, an honest monk, by no means free from enthusiasm, though not so enthusiastic as many of his comrades, the monks of Mesopotamia, whose zeal was downright phrensy.

Ephraim hearing, as Gregory tells us, that Apollinaris, a man of great reputation for his learning and abilities, but reckoned amongst the heterodox, had committed his writings to the care of a certain woman, made her believe that he was a friend and disciple of Apollinaris; and borrowed the books, promising to return them speedily. As soon as he had them in his possession, he glued all the leaves together, and returned the volumes to the woman, and she to Apollinaris, who, when he wanted to make use of them, found all his labours destroyed, and took it much to heart.

Tillemont judges fairly, and calls this a mean and scandalous trick. He supposes that either Gregory Nyssen was not the author of the book in which this story is related; or that, if he were, he had been imposed upon by hearsays and false reports. The latter supposition is probable enough, if we consider the credulity of Gregory.

The best thing recorded of Ephraim is, that he was very charitable; and by his credit and interest raised great sums to relieve the poor in times of distress.

Concerning the works of Ephraim, some genuine, some ill-translated, corrupted, and interpolated, see Rivetus, Tillemont^t, Lardner^u, and Cave^x.

Amphilochius, A. 375, was made bishop of Iconium; and, as Metaphrastes assures us, was ordained by angels, who, on this occasion, usurped the episcopal office^y.

^a Basnage iii. 518.

^t viii. 264. 294.

^u ix. 177.

^x i. 235.

^y Basnage iii. 145.

Tillemont, I mention it to his honour^z, rejects this story; and often speaks of Metaphrastes with due contempt. But it is worthy of observation, that Combefix, no inconsiderable man in the church of Rome, recommends this wretched tale to the belief all good souls, with a ‘*Certissimum est, et omnino credendum.*’

A. 371. Gregory of Nyssa was a married man, and was made a bishop. He celebrates the wonders of Gregory Thaumaturgus, and relates many of his miracles, *some of which are of a very extraordinary kind.* Thus saith Du Pin; which was rather more than was safe for him to say amongst powerful bigots, and powerful hypocrites.

Gregory of Nyssa went to Jerusalem, to try whether he could pacify the quarrels there amongst the Christians. He tells us, that instead of finding the virtues which might have been expected from the inhabitants of the Holy Land, he found the place to be a sink of iniquity and debauchery; the seat of envy, malice, adultery, robbery, murder, idolatry, poisoning, and bloodshed; where men assassinated others for a trifling reward: so that in no place were murders so frequently and so easily committed. Such were the Christians of Jerusalem in the fourth century; a century so abundant in saints and in miracles! Thus he learned from experience to have no favourable opinion of pilgrimages. I was convinced, says he, that there was much less devotion and goodness to be found in the Holy Land than in Cappadocia. He therefore dissuaded some religious persons from undertaking that voyage.

Jerom was of the same mind in this point, and said much the same things to Paulinus; and commended the monk Hilarion, who being born, and bred up, and settled in Palæstine, had never spent more than one single day in Jerusalem; and did that only lest he should be thought to despise the place.

This declaration of Gregory, says Cave^a, hath been foolishly censured by some Popish writers. Erasmus^b wrote an excellent dialogue on the subject of pilgrimages^c.

The Arians at that time were numerous at Constantinople; and the inhabitants loquacious, and addicted to dis-

^a ix. 617.

^a i. 245.

^b T. i. 639.

^c See Tillemont ix. 435.

puting. This city, says Gregory^d, is full of mechanics and slaves, who are all of them doctors of divinity, and preach in the shops, and in the streets. If you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you wherein the Son differs from the Father; if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to the Father; if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing.

But doubtless the Consubstantialists were not silent on these occasions, being as unwearied praters and as troublesome wranglers as their adversaries.

Gregory was of the same opinion with Origen concerning future punishments; that they were temporary, and would terminate in the amendment of the sufferers.

A. 374. Ambrose was made bishop of Milan.

Baronius relates, as an *antient tradition*, that Ambrose coming to Rome, and lodging at an inn, his host boasted to him how prosperous he had always been, and talked in a vain and arrogant manner, without returning thanks to God. The saint, collecting from the pride and insolence of the man that God's judgments would speedily overtake him, hastened from the house with his companions; and, as soon as he was fairly out of it, the earth opened, and swallowed it up, with all its inhabitants; and a lake was formed in the place^e.

The very story of old Baucis and Philemon :

'—flexere oculos, et mersa palude
Cætera prospiciunt.'

This is one proof, to which forty more might be added, that the Christians used to collect out of Ovid, Livy, and other Pagan poets and historians, the miracles and portents which are to be found there, and accommodate them to their own monks and saints.

Ambrose wrote to Theodosius, to congratulate him upon his victory over Eugenius, and to entreat him to forgive those who had sided with Eugenius; which was the act of a good and pious prelate. But his zeal ran away with him,

^d De Abrah. et Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 33.

^e Tillemont x. 151.

when he justified the burning of a Jewish synagogue by the riotous Christians.

Ambrose, says Barbeyrac^f, had such an impetuous imagination, that every thing served him for an argument; and was so excessively credulous, as to adopt even the stupid legend of St. Thecla, &c.

I know not whether this be a decisive proof of his credulity; for perhaps he did not believe one word of it, but thought it good for the edification of the lower people.

Jerom had a mean opinion of the learning and abilities of Ambrose.

See Ambrose^g, Du Pin^h, Tillemontⁱ, Basnage^k, and Barbeyrac^l, who makes some proper remarks on the relics and the miracles of the fourth century.

A. 375. Valens, who was guilty of many acts of cruelty, oppressed also those who would not comply with the Arian system. Themistius, the orator, a professed Pagan, addressed a discourse to him in favour of toleration, and earnestly exhorted him not to persecute the Consubstantialists.

The Christian princes of those days, whilst they harassed their Christian subjects for speculative points of religion, showed kindness to many learned Pagans; as to Libanius, Themistius, Symmachus, Claudian, &c.^m

Whilst Valens persecuted the Consubstantialists, particularly the monks and the clergy, they defended themselves by spiritual weapons, and wrought innumerable miracles, sufficient, one would think, to have softened the heart of this Pharaoh, and of all his servants.

Amongst the monks who were exposed to the rage of the Arians, were Macarius of Ægypt, and Macarius of Alexandria. Read their lives in Tillemontⁿ, and admire the consummate effrontery of those who forged the miracles ascribed to them; and the amazing credulity of this honest man, who believes them all.

Jerom^o testifies, that the officers of Valens slew many monks of Nitria; and that this prince made a law to compel them to serve in the army, ‘ut monachi militarent^p.’

^f P. 208. ^g Epist. xxii. ^h ii. 283. ⁱ x. ^k iii. 104. 156.

^l P. 259. ^m See Basnage iii. 51. ⁿ viii.

^o Chron. A. 376. ^p L'Enfant Hist. du Conc. de Basle ii. 361.

Valens endeavoured, both by good words and by menaces, to bring over Basil of Cæsarea, or to make him admit the Arians to his communion; but Basil, who seems to have been a man of undaunted resolution and of a high spirit, was inflexible; so that the emperor at last admired his courage and constancy, and would not suffer him to be ill-used.

As Basil and Valens were discoursing together upon this subject, one Demosthenes, the emperor's head-cook, and a sort of a favourite, interposed, and censured Basil, and blundered in his expressions; upon which the bishop smiled, and said: What! doth Demosthenes make barbarisms? The man flew into a passion, and threatened revenge. Go, said Basil, and toss up your ragouts; you are fit for nothing else.

Whilst the bishop was undergoing this trial, the emperor's child fell sick; and the empress had frightful dreams and visions, informing her that this was a judgment upon them for persecuting Basil.

The story seems to have been taken from Matt. xxvii. 19. 'His wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man,' &c.

The emperor then desired Basil to pray for the child; and the bishop promised him that his child should recover, if he himself would forsake Arianism. But the emperor would not, and the child died.

The emperor resolved to banish him; but when he attempted to sign the order, his pens brake one after another, and he trembled so that he could not write his name.

During this contest, Basil healed a man of quality who was sick.

Valens then went to church to hear Basil preach, and made handsome presents to the church; and, being in a good humour, granted the bishop several favours.

From the history of the contest between Valens and Basil, as it is thus delivered to us by Basil's friends and admirers, one might conjecture that the emperor was not altogether so violent and cruel towards the Consubstantialists as these have represented him.

His behaviour also to the Edessenes shows that he was not altogether a brute at all times; for, finding the inha-

bitants of Edessa resolved rather to die than to admit Arianism, he, either through compassion or through prudence, judged it adviseable to let them alone.

Socrates bestows two chapters on the Ægyptian monks who were persecuted by Valens, and banished for their orthodoxy; and on the numerous miracles which they wrought in the remote and barbarous places to which they were sent.

These miracles, as Socrates observes, prove the truth of the doctrines for which they suffered. But the difficulty is to prove the truth of the miracles to the satisfaction of a reasonable inquirer.

‘Some Greek writers have complained of the vanity and arrogance of Jerom. But proud men are apt to complain of one another; and Jerom could as little bear the pride of the Greeks. In his *Chronicon*, A. 392, we find these words: ‘*Basilius Cæsariensis, episcopus Cappadociæ, clarus habetur.*’

But in some old manuscripts these words are added, which are not in Scaliger’s edition:—‘*qui multa continentia et ingenii bona uno superbia malo perdidit.*’ It is to be supposed that the monks, who were librarians, suppressed some passages in the antients which they did not like^q.

These additional words are quite in Jerom’s style and manner, and too elegant for any interpolator of after-times; and therefore it is probable that they are genuine.

And indeed Basil’s own friend, Gregory Nazianzen^r, thought him proud and haughty and overbearing, as it appears from the letters of Gregory.

A. 378. Christianity had gained admittance in the Gothic nations before the time of Valens. In his reign a part of the Goths had been defeated by the Hunns; and sent an embassy to the emperor, desiring that he would give them leave to cross the Danube, and to settle in Thrace, offering to serve in the Roman armies. The chief person of this embassy was the celebrated Gothic bishop Ulfila, who had great authority amongst them, having laboured incessantly to civilize them, and to instruct them in Christianity, and having on that account suffered persecution from

^q Bibl. Univ. ii. 414.

^r Tillemont t. ix. 278.

those Goths who were Pagans. He taught his converted Goths the use of letters; and made them a Gothic alphabet, formed upon the model of the Latin and Greek characters. He also translated the Scriptures into their language; but it is said that he omitted the books of Kings, lest the wars, of which so much is there recorded, should increase their inclination to fighting, which was already too prevalent.

Coming as ambassador to Constantinople, he had conferences with the Arian bishops; and whether he hoped to succeed in his negotiations through their credit with Valens, or whether he were of himself inclined to the same opinion with them, or whether he were influenced by their representations and arguments, he sided in some measure with them, and was the occasion that the Goths embraced Arianism, or rather Semi-arianism, and spread it afterwards quite through the West. Ulfila is said to have told the Goths that those violent disputes about the doctrine of the Trinity arose from the mere pride and ambition of ecclesiastics, and were altercations of no importance; and that the fundamentals of Christianity were not concerned in them. Accordingly, the Goths used to affirm that the Father was 'greater' than the Son; but yet would never say that the Son was a 'creature,' though they held communion with those who said so.

About the same time, or a little sooner, the Pagan Goths persecuted their Christian countrymen, and put many of them to death, who yet are supposed by Socrates to have been Arians. But Basnage and others are mighty unwilling to allow of Arian martyrs; and suppose that Socrates was mistaken, and that these martyrs were good Catholics.

As to Arius, says Socrates^s, he being embarrassed in controversy, and endeavouring to confute Sabellianism, ran, as it often happens, into the other extreme; and fell into an opposite heresy. But these poor Goths, plain, illiterate, and simple-minded men, received Christianity, and died for it, without entering into such deep speculations; and as to those points, were rather *adox* than *heterodox*.

What Socrates and Theodoret have said on this occasion

is mild and moderate, compared with the language of Tillemont¹, who seems quite beside himself; and says that Ulfila, after having done and suffered great things in propagating the Gospel amongst the Pagan Goths, was puffed up with diabolical pride; and that, bribed by the Arians, and seduced by worldly and wicked motives, he fell like Lucifer, and drew after him to hell and eternal damnation an innumerable multitude of Goths, and of other northern nations.

‘Gudila’ [i. e. Ulfila] episcopus Gothos legem docuit Christianam, et Scripturas Novi et Veteris Testamenti linguam transtulit in eandem. Speciales literas, quas eis cum lege Gudila tradiderat, habuerunt, quæ in antiquis Hispaniarum et Galliarum libris adhuc hodie superextant, specialiter quæ dicitur Toletana.’

A. 378. Gratian, who came to the empire when he was a boy, made a law granting a toleration to all Christian sects, except three; namely, the Eunomians, the Photinians, and the Manichæans, who were not permitted to have any churches or religious assemblies. Afterwards, being better instructed by his teachers, he made laws against all heretics and schismatics; for which Basnage commends him, and says; ‘Mutatâ in melius sententiâ hæreticis omnibus silentium imponit’².

A. 379. The Priscillianists³ spread themselves through Spain and Portugal, and were persecuted with great violence and cruelty.

‘Their tenets, says Tillemont, were an horrible confusion of all sorts of impieties, which flowed into this sect as into a jakes. There was nothing so abominable in the most profane opinions which it did not adopt. It was a monstrous compound of the grossest and filthiest errors, collecting into itself all the stinking ordure dispersed throughout other heresies. Not content with these impieties, it added to them the follies of Paganism, the sacrilegious curiosities of

¹ vi. 604.

² Rodericus Toletanus. See Grotius Hist. Goth. Elog. p. 141. and Cave i. 229.

³ Socrates v. 2. Tillemont vi. 617. Basnage iii. 65.

⁴ Tillemont viii. 491. Basnage iii. 110. 181. Lardner ix. 257.

magic, and the wild reveries of astrology. But, in particular, it adopted the doctrines of the Manichæans, Gnostics, or Basilidians.'

Who would not imagine from this that Priscillian was the vilest of men, such another as count Zinzendorf, the infamous head of the modern Moravians? But whence did Tillemont collect this detestable character of the Priscillianists? From Augustin, Jerom, Pope Leo, the Acts of Councils, and so forth: that is, from bigots, from persecutors, from noisy declaimers, from the sworn enemies of these people, from men whose testimony is to be suspected, and who may justly be supposed to have exaggerated things, and to have given too much credit to vulgar reports.

As to their notions of the Trinity, says Tillemont, they were *Sabellians* and *Arians*. Good! one might as well have said of Tillemont, that he was a *Pelagian* and a *Jansenist*.

Priscillian, says Sulpitius Severus, drew away many people, especially females: 'Ad hoc mulieres novarum rerum cupidæ fluxa fide, et ad omnia curioso ingenio, catervatim ad eum confluebant.'

Tillemont did not let this cursory censure drop, but sets it forth thus:

'The women more especially, who by nature love novelty, whose faith is fickle and changeable, and who are curious of knowing all things, flocked after this new doctor. The women of Spain and Portugal, who, as St. Jerom observes, were of the number of those whom St. Paul calls silly women, laden with sins, led away with diverse lusts, ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, suffered themselves to be seduced with new Scriptures, recommended by specious names, and received with joy fables mixed with voluptuous charms.'

What pity is it that women do not write ecclesiastical history, and take their revenge upon us!

The Priscillianists seem, as far as we can guess from their adversaries, to have been in some points a sort of Manichæans; but in one respect better than the Manichæans: for they received all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testment. If there were knaves and hy-

pocrites amongst them, as in all probability there were, the orthodox prelates who pursued them to death were beyond measure worse.

The Council of Cæsaraugusta condemned and excommunicated them. Then Idatius and Ithacius, two Spanish bishops, obtained from the emperor Gratian a decree that they should be banished from all places of the empire. Then the Priscillianists went to Rome, to justify themselves before Damasus ; but he would not admit them even into his presence. Then they repaired to Milan, to beg the same favour of Ambrose ; but he also would not give them a hearing. Then they bribed some of the magistrates, and insinuated themselves into their favour. Then Idatius and Ithacius accused them to the usurper Maximus, and managed their affairs so well, with the help of other bishops like themselves, that Priscillian and several of his followers were put to death for heresy.

‘ For my part, I neither approve the prosecutors nor the prosecuted. As to Ithacius, I am persuaded that he was a man void of all principles : he was loquacious, impudent, expensive, and a slave to his belly ; so senseless as to represent every holy person, who delighted in religious studies, and practised mortification and abstinence, as an associate or disciple of Priscillian. He even dared openly to accuse of heresy Martin the bishop, a man comparable to the apostles. For Martin, being then at Treves, never ceased to reprimand Ithacius, and to admonish him to desist from his prosecution. He also entreated the emperor Maximus not to shed the blood of those unhappy sufferers, telling him that it was enough to subject them to episcopal censure, and to excommunicate them as heretics ; and that it was a new and an unlawful attempt of the civil magistrate to take cognizance of an ecclesiastical cause. As long therefore as Martin stayed at Treves, the prosecution was suspended ; and at his departure he obtained a promise from Maximus, who held him in high esteem, that no capital punishment should be inflicted upon these men. But the emperor afterwards, being corrupted by two bishops, Magnus and Rufus, and at their instigation departing from his milder designs, appointed the cause to be tried before the præfect Evodius, a stern and severe judge. And then, upon the re-

port which was returned to him, he ordered Priscillian and his associates to be put to death.—But the death of Priscillian was so far from repressing the heresy of which he had been the author, that it conduced greatly to confirm and extend it; for his followers, who before had revered him as a pious man, began to worship him as a martyr. The bodies of those who had suffered death were carried back to Spain, and interred with great solemnity; and to swear by the name of Priscillian was practised as a religious act, &c.*

Thus says Sulpitius Severus, who proceeds to bestow a bad character upon most of the prelates of his time, and to censure their scandalous contentions and their vile practices.

‘Upon the whole, I think it appears that the Priscillianists received the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. They likewise made use of apocryphal books: but what respect they had for them cannot now be clearly determined. Some ecclesiastics, who went under this denomination, are represented, from an ill-judged zeal, and without sufficient reason, to have deserted their stations in the church, to betake themselves to a retired and solitary course of life. They had errors concerning the soul, and some other matters. They seem to have had a disadvantageous opinion of marriage, and thereby sometimes made unhappy breaches in families, if their adversaries do not aggravate. They had also rules about diet, not founded in reason or Scripture. Some of these people are blamed for not consuming the eucharist at church; and they were irregular in fasting when other Christians feasted. But as we have none of their writings remaining, we do not know their whole system with certainty. By some they have been charged with obscene doctrines and lewd practices. But, so far as we are able to judge upon the evidence that has been produced, they appear rather to have made high pretensions to sanctity and purity, and to have practised uncommon mortifications*.’

Martin, bishop of Tours, would never consent to the death of the Priscillianists; he interceded earnestly for them;

* Lardner ix. 348. See also L'Enfant Hist. du Conc. de Basle ii. 369, and Du Pin ii. 348.

he refused for some time to communicate with Ithacius and the persecuting bishops of his party ; he at last consented to it, with the utmost reluctance, by the pressing entreaties of the emperor Maximus ; and with a charitable and good-natured view to save the lives of some unhappy persons, at whom Maximus was offended, because they had been faithful to Gratian, their lawful sovereign : but he never would sign a testimonial that he held communion with those cut-throats. He returned home, full of affliction for having made any condescension, and said to his friends, as it is reported, that for this frailty God had withdrawn from him the power of working miracles. He never more would communicate with the Ithacians ; and for the last sixteen years of his life he never would meet at any council or synod, and carefully shunned those cabals. This behaviour doth honour to his memory ; and, whilst we reject the fabulous accounts of his miracles, we must applaud his humanity, his hatred of persecution, and, let us add, his dislike of councils.

Martin, who in point of miracles, as they say, was a perfect *Thaumaturgus*, like Gregory, seems to have failed as a prophet, when he declared that Nero and Antichrist were coming^a. Martin learned this perhaps from a Sibylline oracle, which is cited by the writer *De Mortibus Persecutorum*^b.

Tillemont endeavours to clear Martin, or to excuse him, and says :

‘He was persuaded, as almost all the saints were, that the end of the world was at hand. If he had some notions concerning Antichrist which were not well grounded, there is no man who is not sometimes out in his conjectures relating to things which God hath not revealed to us^c.’

Very good. But why did Martin dogmatize about such things ; and venture to foretell events, in which he was as much mistaken in the fourth, as Jurieu and others have been in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ?

‘His body was at Tours, till, our sins having rendered us unworthy of possessing this treasure, God gave it up into the hands of the Hugonots, who reduced it to ashes.

^a Sulpit. Severus Dial. ii. 14.

^b iii. p. 44.

^c x. 340.

Yet it is thought that some of the bones are still preserved^d.

From the recantations of some Priscillianists, it should seem that they held the *Son* to be *unborn*, *innascibilis*. Possibly they rejected the doctrine of *eternal generation*, and said that the *Λόγος* was from all eternity underived and self-existing, and that the *Father* and the *Son* were *duo principia*^e.

A. 379. Of all the fathers of the fourth century, there was not, in the opinion of Le Clerc, a more moderate and a worthier man than Gregory Nazianzen.

Gregory and his Consubstantialists were assaulted by the Arians of Constantinople^f. Antient women, as he says, worse than Jezebels, young nuns, common beggars, and monks, like *old goats* [Παγες] issuing out of their monasteries, armed with clubs and stones, attacked him and his flock, in his church, and did much mischief^g.

‘St. Jerom one day asked St. Gregory to explain a difficult place in the New Testament, ‘*de Sabbato secundo-primo*^h.’ Gregory answered humourously, I will explain it to you by and by, in my sermon at church, where the applauses given to me by all the audience shall compel you, in spite of yourself, to understand what you understand not; or to pass for a blockhead if you are the only person there who joins not in admiring me.

We see by this that Gregory, with all his gravity, was of a cheerful temper, which also appears in his epistles; we see also how much authority he had over the people, and how little account he made of the acclamations which his eloquence excited. From this passage we might also perhaps infer that he was not always satisfied with the expositions which he gave to the people. The same may be observed of St. Augustin; for in his sermons he delivers some things as certain, of which, as it appears from his letters, he was far from being assuredⁱ.

Go now, and establish articles of faith, or even interpretations of Scripture, from the homilies of the fathers!

^d x. 340.

^e Ibid.

^f See Basnage iii. 181.

^g δευτεροπρωτω, Luc. vi. 1,

^h Tillemont vi. 616. ix. 432.

ⁱ Tillemont ix. 429.

A rational pastor, accustomed to think and to judge for himself, if he be a prudent man, will not perhaps tell his congregation every thing that he believes ; but, if he be an honest man, he will never teach them any thing that he believes not. ‘ Quandoquidem populus vult decipi, decipiatur,’ may be a good maxim for a quack ; but not for a divine.

Gregory, in his old days, is said to have passed a whole Lent without speaking. A grievous penance for a Greek father!

The Christian world is much obliged to him for the censures which he so freely and plentifully bestowed upon the second general council, held at Constantinople, A. 381 ; which Cave^k calls ‘ Venerandum Concilium Oecumenicum.’ It is a wonder that Gregory hath not been stigmatized, degraded, and stripped of his saintship, for having treated these venerable prelates and fathers with so little ceremony.

His favouring the persecution of some heretics is a blot in his amiable character. But, alas ! few of the men called orthodox were entirely free from that blemish. He incited Nectarius to persecute the Apollinarists ; which was done accordingly^l.

‘ Amongst the causes which made Gregory desirous of declining the office of a bishop or of a presbyter, he mentions the mean and scandalous manner by which many, unworthy as they were, endeavoured to acquire those stations, and the multitude of competitors for ecclesiastical preferments. They consider this dignity, says he, not as a station wherein they ought to be a pattern of every virtue, but as a trade to get money ; not as a ministry and a stewardship, of which an account must be given, but as a magistracy subject to no examination. They are become almost as numerous as those whom they govern ; and I believe it will come at last to that pass, that there will be none to be governed, but all will be doctors, and Saul also will be amongst the prophets. He adds, that the pulpits were filled with illiterate pastors, with mere boys, with imitators of the Scribes and Pharisees ; that there was no such thing as cha-

^k i. 364.

^l See Basnage iii. 94.

city among them, but only acrimony and wrath; that their religion consisted in condemning the irreligion of others, whose behaviour they watched, not to reform them, but to defame them; that they blamed or praised persons, not for their bad or good lives, but according to the party to which they belonged, admiring in one what they reviled in another; engaged in everlasting disputes, disputes resembling a battle fought in the dark, where a man cannot distinguish his friends from his foes; wrangling, shuffling, and cavilling about baubles, under the specious pretext of defending the faith; abhorred by the Pagans, and despised by all honest Christians.

‘This is a faithful portrait of the manners of the ecclesiastics in the days of Gregory, as the history of those times too plainly shows.’ Le Clerc, *Bibl. Univ.* xviii. 56, where he hath given us the life of Gregory.

A. 381. Theodosius took away from all heretics and schismatics all their churches, and made a present of them to the orthodox. The Apollinarists, on this occasion, pleaded for themselves, that they were of the orthodox party, and ought not to undergo this punishment: upon which Tillemont^m exclaims; ‘Surely nothing equals the impudence of an heretic!’ The good man was mistaken; the impudence of a bigot is usually equal to it, to say the least.

Theodosius was the first prince who established an *inquisition*, a spiritual office; which hath since been prodigiously improved by the sons of Dominic.

‘He made a law that the Pagans should not offer sacrifices.—He forbid the assemblies of the Manichæans, and took from them the power of making a testament. He ordered that the heretics called Encratitæ, Saccophori, and Hydroparastatæ should be punished ‘summo supplicio, et inexpressibili pœna.’ And for the detection of such persons, he appointed *inquisitors*, who were thus instituted for the first time. He adds; ‘Nemo tales occultos cogat latentesque conventus. Agris vetitum sit, prohibitum mœnibus, sede publica privataque damnatum. Ac summa exploratione rimetur, ut quicumque in unum Paschæ diem non obse-

quenti religione convenerint, tales indubitanter, quales hac lege damnamus, habeantur.'

The latter part of this law hath in view the *Quartadecimans*, and the *Audians*, who celebrated Easter on the same day with the Jewsⁿ.

Two years afterwards, he made a law against the *Tascodrogitæ*, and would not suffer them to assemble together. All that we know of these poor obscure heretics is from the testimony of their adversaries, of Epiphanius and Augustin, who tell us that they were a sort of Pythagorean fanatics, who made their prayers inwardly and silently, holding their noses and their lips with their hands, lest any sound should transpire. It was cruel to tease and punish these folks for saying *nothing*; since, according to the Roman law, 'silentii rationem nemo reddere tenetur.' They could not be fairly charged with heresy or treason in their 'silent meetings.'

A. 382. Evagrius went and dwelt amongst the Ægyptian monks. Palladius says that this Evagrius, when news was brought to him that his father was dead, replied to the messenger; Do not blaspheme; for my father is immortal. Socrates ascribes this saying to some monk, whose name is not preserved. The same thought is to be found in Q. Curtius^o, who might borrow it from some Greek writer:

When Alexander, says he, had accepted from the priest of Jupiter Hammon the title of *Hammon's son*, he forgot himself a little, and talked as if he had been *the son of Philip*. 'Post hæc, institit quærere, an omnes parentis sui interfectores pœnas dedissent? Sacerdos parentem ejus negat ullius scelere posse violari: Philippi autem omnes interfectores luisse supplicia.'

Some have suspected Q. Curtius to be a modern author; but Montfauçon^p observes that there is a manuscript of this historian, in Colbert's library, eight hundred years old.

Helvidius wrote a book, about this time, to show that the Virgin Mary had children by Joseph after the birth of

ⁿ Basnage iii. 82.

^o iv. 7.

^p See Bibl. Choix. xvii. 344. and Fabricius Bibl. Lat.

Christ; and was of opinion that a state of virginity was not holier than a married state. Jerom wrote against him, at the request of many pious brethren, 'Fratrum precibus,' and treats him as an insignificant blockhead; but so he treated every one with whom he had controversies.

Jovinian had been brought up with the monks, and had left them. He also had the same slight opinion with Helvidius concerning the dignity of virginity, and the duty of abstinence from certain meats. Jerom wrote against him likewise, extolling virginity and depressing matrimony in a fanatical and a scandalous manner. Jerom's treatises on this subject excited the indignation of reasonable persons; but he had the *wrong-headed*, that is to say, a vast majority, on his side.

He cited some sentences from Jovinian, as specimens of his bad style; and indeed they are bad enough, and gave Jerom a fair opportunity to ridicule him.

Jerom calls Jovinian an Epicurean, and a debauchee, though the man lived in a state of continence. Pope Siricius excommunicated him and his followers as heretics and blasphemers; and the emperor Honorius, at the instigation of the ecclesiastics of those days, condemned him to be whipped, like the vilest criminal, in a brutal manner, and then sent in banishment to a poor little island.

'Jovinianum sacrilegos agere conventus extra muros urbis sacratissimæ, episcoporum querela deplorat. Quare supra memoratum corripere præcipimus, et contusum plumbo cum cæteris suis participibus et ministris exsilio coerceri: ipsum autem machinatorem in insulam Boam festina celeritate deduci.'

There, says Gennadius^a, he died like a *glutton*, with intemperate feasting. That is, as Juvenal says of Marius,

'Exsul ab octava Marius bibit, et fruitur Dis Iratis.'

One would rather imagine that he died like a *beggar*. It is not a probable story, that a poor, hated, anathematized, persecuted, beaten, and banished man should have lived in

^a See Basnage iii. 88. 124. Fleury v. 354.

affluence, and fared sumptuously every day, upon *hams* and *cock-pheasants*, as Jerom tells us, when he says :

‘ Ille Romanæ ecclesiæ auctoritate damnatus, inter phasides aves et carnes suillas, non tam emisit spiritum, quam eructavit.’

Boa was a small island of Illyricum, the worst I suppose which could be found, to which criminals used to be transported.

Jerom, who exerted himself against Helvidius and Jovinian, hath well described his own temper, when he breaks out into these vehement words :

‘ Canes latrant pro dominis suis : tu me non vis latrare pro Christi veritate ? Mori possum ; tacere non possum.’

In this sort of turbulent zeal our learned and warlike father hath had a multitude of disciples and imitators, antient and modern ; and the sect of *Barkers* hath been one of the most conspicuous and formidable sects in the Christian world. In one thing they differ from dogs, of whom it is observed, that they who *bark* most *bite* least.

If we should say that Jerom was a persecutor, we should do him no wrong ; we have it under his own hand :

‘ Imperatorum quoque scripta, quæ de Alexandria et Ægypto Origenistas pelli jubet, me suggerente dictata sunt : ut Romanus pontifex miro eos odio detestetur, meum consilium fuit : ut totus orbis, post translationem tuam, in Origenis odia exerserit, quem antea simpliciter lectitabat, meus operatus est stylus’.

Jerom, in a treatise addressed to Eustochium, had censured very roughly the scandalous behaviour of the Roman clergy. This, as we may suppose, made them his enemies ; and they censured him again so freely, that he grew weary of dwelling at Rome, his great friend and patron Damasus being dead.

We have mentioned the bad character which Gregory Nyssen gave of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. Jerom also, in an epistle to Paulinus, says : Think not that any thing is wanted to your faith, because you have not seen Jerusa-

* Apol. adv. Rufin.

lem, or that I am the better for dwelling at Bethlehem. Jerusalem is a great city, which, like other great cities, hath a public council, a court, officers, theatres, actors, buffoons, courtesans, a crowd of people, and a concourse from all parts of the world. Here therefore you would find every thing that you are desirous to shun.

A. 383. About this time is placed the martyrdom of St. Ursula, and the eleven thousand virgins, all of them English girls. Some writers of the church of Rome treat this story as a fable; but it would be no great wonder to see it defended by some Protestant writers, who will now and then patronize old romances, which are slighted even by Papists of learning and judgment.

Eunomius, an Arian, was made bishop of Cyzicus in the year 360. He was afterwards deposed, and three times banished. At last he obtained leave to return to his own country, and to die at home. He wrote an Exposition of Faith, and presented it to Theodosius, in which he useth no subterfuges, equivocations, and ambiguities, but delivers his sentiments fairly, fully, and perspicuously. His books were ordered to be burnt. His disciples, the Eunomians, could not hold together as a sect, but were divided into parties. Very severe laws were made against them^s.

A. 384. 'The city of Antioch, and many other parts of Syria, were grievously afflicted by famine and pestilence. Libanius, a Pagan sophist, wrote to Icarius the governor, earnestly exhorting him to assist and comfort the poor, who flocked to Antioch for relief. But Icarius returned him this barbarous and impious answer, that 'the gods hated the poor:' at which Libanius expresses a just abomination and horror. This speech seems to show that Icarius must have been a Pagan^t.'

We have heard of a rascal in our own days, and in our country, who made the same speech, and who certainly knew nothing of Icarius. Thus, according to the proverb, bad wits, as well as good wits, jump; and hit upon the same sentiments.

^s Basnage iii. 155. Philostorgius, p. 540. See Remarks on Eccl. Hist. ii. 130, &c.

^t Tillemont Hist. des Emp. v. 228.

- * Perhaps you think the poor might have their part :
 * Bond damns the poor, and hates them from his heart.—
 God cannot love, says Blunt with tearless eyes,
 The wretch he starves—and piously denies“.

Amongst the singular things which Jerom saw at Rome, he relates the following story : There was a married couple, of the lowest of the people. The man had buried twenty wives, and the woman twenty-two husbands. Every one was curious to observe which should outlast the other. It proved the woman's turn to drop first ; and the husband, with a crown on his head, and a branch of palm in his hand, like a triumphant emperor, headed the funeral pomp, accompanied with the concourse, and the loud acclamations of the multitude*.

A. 384. Epiphanius had been a monk, bred up amongst the monks ; and in his old days he contracted a violent hatred of Origen, and was drawn in by a prelate far more crafty, and far less honest than himself, by Theophilus, to persecute the Origenists and Chrysostom. At that time the empress Eudoxia recommended to his prayers her son Theodosius, who was dangerously ill ; and this fanatical prelate sent her word that the child should recover, if she would get the Origenists and the works of Origen to be condemned.

The style of Epiphanius, says Du Pin, hath neither beauty nor dignity ; on the contrary, it is simple, mean, grovelling, rude, unpolished, without connection and coherence. He had much reading and erudition, and no discernment. Often he employs inconclusive arguments to confute heretics. He was very credulous and inaccurate, and mistaken in several points of consequence ; ready to adopt false accounts and frivolous rumours. He had much zeal and piety, with little discretion.

It is related in the *Vitæ Patrum*, that Epiphanius invited Hilarion the monk to dinner ; and a dish of fowls being set before them, Epiphanius helped Hilarion, who said, Excuse me, father ; since I have worn the habit of a monk, I have never eaten animal food. And I, replied Epiphanius, since I have worn the same habit, have never suffered any

* Pope Mor. Ess. Ep. iii.

* Epist. ii.

one to lie down to sleep, having aught against me; nor have I ever gone to sleep with any resentment against another. The rule which you observe, said Hilarion, is more excellent than mine.

The rule was certainly a good one: the question is, whether the good bishop always observed it.

Epiphanius is said^y to have wrought many miracles, both living and dead.

A. 385. Theophilus was made bishop of Alexandria. Jerom commends him as an useful writer; Leo calls him 'Episcopum sanctæ memoriæ;' Facundus gives him the title of 'Beatus;' and Theodoret says that he was one of singular prudence and fortitude. The truth is, that he was a man of parts, and a consummate knave. I know not by what fatality it came to pass that no episcopal see was ever so pestered with bad prelates as Alexandria.

A. 385. Siricius, bishop of Rome, in a decretal, orders that baptism should only be administered at Easter, and fifty days following: but he makes exceptions for persons in dangerous circumstances, and for young children; which shows that infant-baptism was then practised^z.

A. 386. Valentinian II., by a law, granted a toleration to the Arians^a.

'Hoc decreto flammis persecutionis ecclesia cingebatur,' says Basnage^b. So, because the Arians were permitted to meet together to worship God, the church was in danger, and under cruel persecution! One would not expect such remarks from refugees and Protestant historians. They are fitter for Bellarmin and Baronius.

Justina, a patroness of Arianism, and a Jezebel, as Ambrose, Gaudentius, Tillemont, and others call her, wanted to obtain from Ambrose one church for the Arians in the city of Milan, and made her son Valentinian require it. Ambrose flatly refused it, and said that the emperor had no right to dispose of any of the churches, and that they belonged to the bishop. The emperor began to use violence; but the people, and even the emperor's guards, took the

^y Sozomen vii. 27.

^z Fleury iv. 469.

^a Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. i. p. 13. where see Gothofred.

^b iii. 102.

bishop's part so warmly, that an insurrection was feared; and so the bishop prevailed.

The emperor Maximus also interposed in favour of Ambrose and of orthodoxy; Maximus, a murderer of his prince, and an usurper of the empire.

In the midst of this warm contention, Ambrose, like a man of parts, played off his *artillery of miracles* upon the emperor and the Arians. By divine revelation he found the bodies of two unknown saints; and this amazing discovery was attended with a train of wonders; nor were dæmoniacks wanting, who acted their part to admiration, howling and crying out that they were tormented by the relics of these saints. The Arians doubtless derided and reviled these miracles; but the populace swallowed them greedily, and took it all for gospel. And thus, as Tillemont well observes, God stopped the violence of the persecution, by revealing at that time, to his servant Ambrose, the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius.

The prelate, when his hand was in, discovered four other bodies of imaginary saints. Against heretics all arms are lawful^c.

Basnage seems to admit^d the truth of these miracles, as wrought in behalf of orthodoxy.

Du Pin judges rightly concerning this affair, when he says: It is thought that the discovery of the reliques, and the miracles wrought by them, contributed to the peace of the church. But probably the true reason which restrained Justina and Valentinian from pushing things to extremity, was a political reason, from the state of the empire, and the fear of giving Maximus a plausible pretext to attack them.

During this contest, Ambrose preached a sermon, in which he compared the empress to Job's wife, to Eve, to Jezebel, and to Herodias.

The hymn called the 'Te Deum' is commonly ascribed to Ambrose; but is of a much later date. The time when it was made, and its author, are unknown^e.

Ambrose, in his zeal for virginity, exhorted girls to enter into the monastic state, even against the will of their parents^f.

^c See Mosheim, i. 166.

^d Basnage, iii. 112.

^e iii. 106.

^f De Virginit.

‘Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition,’ &c.

A. 387. Amongst innumerable miracles ascribed to John of Lycopolis, one is, that, according to his promise, he appeared one night in a dream to a pious lady, whilst he was alive, and very remote from her. Augustin, who relates the story, starts many curious questions concerning the manner of it, and the way in which it could be done: yet there is one very obvious solution, which never entered into his head. ‘The woman saw John in a dream:’ that is, ‘The woman dreamed that she saw John.’

It is related by Sozomen, and by several Christian writers, that Theodosius sent the eunuch Eutropius to John the monk of Thebais, who was accounted a prophet, to consult him concerning the issue of the war which he had undertaken against Eugenius; and that John foretold, that after a hard struggle he should obtain the victory, and destroy the tyrant, and then die himself in Italy: all which came to pass^s.

The story was well known; for Claudian, who lived at that time, and who was a Pagan, makes mention of it, though this testimony hath escaped the diligence of Tillemont, and of other writers of ecclesiastical history. Claudian indeed treats the story with much contempt, saying, in his poem^h against Eutropius:

‘Atque inter proprias laudes Ægyptia narrat
Somnia, prostatosque carit se vate tyrannos.
Scilicet in dubio vindex Bellona pependit,
Dum spado Tiresias, enervatusque Melampus
Reptat, ab extremo referens oracula Nilo!’

A. 388. Epiphanius and Jerom, two fathers of quarrelsome memory, disturbed the Christian world by their contentions with John of Jerusalem, who was an admirer of Origen. Epiphanius and Jerom condemned the Origenists, and John the Anthropomorphites.

Epiphanius destroyed a picture of Christ, or of some saint, which he found hung up in a church, accounting it to be a superstitious and idolatrous ornament, and gives an account of what he had done, in an epistle to John.

• Tillemont *H. des Emp.* v. 362.

• i. 312.

‘They whose consciences are not hardened past all feeling, must acknowledge that Epiphanius condemned the use of images in churches, and that such practices were contrary to the then received discipline; of which Epiphanius could not be ignorant, who had travelled through so many regions. Du Pin fully acknowledgeth this, whose candour we ought to commend. Baronius was sadly distressed by this testimony of Epiphanius, and thought it best to have recourse to effrontery, and to cut the knot which he could not untie. He pronounced this part of the letter of Epiphanius to be spurious; and Bellarmine was of the same opinion, though many things concur to prove it to be genuine,’ &c.¹

Petavius and Sirmondus, though Jesuits, acknowledge it to be genuine^k.

Amongst the Arabians, a sect arose of persons called Collyridians, who offered up cakes to the Virgin Mary, as to a goddess, to the queen of heaven. Epiphanius wrote against them, and treated them as heretics and idolaters. But the idolatrous worship of the Virgin became in process of time the most triumphant of all heresies; and Epiphanius, if he had lived in the later centuries, would have been put into the inquisition, and roasted alive for censuring such idolatrous practices, and for destroying a sacred picture.

At this time happened the famous sedition at Antioch, which gave occasion to the emperor Theodosius to exercise his lenity.

‘The Pagans themselves, as well as the Christians, confessed that the rioters were only the ministers and instruments of evil dæmons, the first authors of all the mischief; and they relate that a person was seen to appear under different figures, and then disappeared, which caused great terror,’ &c.^l

It is reported, says Sozomen^m, that on the night before the day of the sedition, a spectre was seen, of a female form, a vast stature, and a grim aspect, which flew over the streets of the city, lashing the air with a loud-sounding whip,

¹ Basnage, iii. 116. See Tillemont, x. 607.

^k See Stillingfleet, vol. v. p. 449.

^l Tillemont H. des Emp. v. 265.

^m vii. 23.

such as is used in the amphitheatres to provoke and enrage the wild beasts. Thus some pernicious dæmon treacherously excited this tumult.

Upon which passage Mr. Reading gravely remarks, in his notes, that such spectres had been sometimes seen, as Pagan writers also testify, and particularly Plutarch in the *Life of Brutus*.

It is hard to say who shows the most judgment here, Sozomen or his annotator. It was an excuse invented by the Antiochians for their impudence and fury. Agamemnon in Homerⁿ makes the same apology for himself:—
‘Not I, but the devil who was in me.’

————— Ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἰτιός εἰμι,
Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς, καὶ Μοῖρα, καὶ ἡ ἐροφοῖτις Ἐριννυς—

‘The fault was not in me; but Jove and Fate,
And dark Erinnyes hovering in the air,
Inflam'd me with mad strife and noxious rage.’

The spectre described by Sozomen is exactly the poetical Bellona, as represented by Virgil, and by twenty of his brethren. See Valerius Flaccus^o, where Venus, transformed into a Fury, excites the Lemnian women to murder their husbands :

—effera et ingens,
Et maculis suffecta genas, pinumque sonantem,
Virginibus Stygiis nigramque simillima pallam.’

Theodosius conquered the tyrant Maximus, and put him to death, and behaved himself with tolerable moderation towards his adversaries after his victory. Pacatus thus celebrates his clemency: ‘Nullius bona publicata, nullius mulctata libertas, nullius præterita dignitas imminuta,’ &c.

But there is no trusting to panegyrics; and it appears that the effects and estates of some persons at least were forfeited and seized^p.

‘God began at this time to blast the undertakings of Maximus: and this tyrant had, besides his other crimes, drawn upon himself the curse of God by an action which doubtless will seem lawful enough to those who have more of the political

ⁿ Iliad. T. 86.

^o il. 104.

^p Cod. Theod. l. iv. tit. xxii. p. 414. and Gothofred.

spirit than of zeal for the honour of religion. For having heard that a synagogue of the Jews had been burnt at Rome by the Christians, he sent thither a severe edict, under the pretence of maintaining peace and good order; which made the people say that this prince was become a Jew, and certainly would not prosper, and get the better of Theodosius. The soldiers also, who were sent to execute the edict, said amongst themselves, How can we expect that Jesus Christ will assist us, since we are fighting against him in behalf of the Jews? The emperor however proceeded no further than to words and menaces; and yet St. Ambrose observes that God had abandoned him, and that he had perished for this fault^a.

See how bigotry can extinguish all sentiments of humanity and of common honesty.

At the same time some turbulent monks had burnt a church of the Valentinians, and a bishop had done the same to a Jewish synagogue. Complaint being made of these outrages to Theodosius by a civil magistrate, he threatened to punish the offenders, and to make them rebuild what they had destroyed. But Ambrose interposed, took the exploits upon himself, justified these proceedings as devout and meritorious, bullied the emperor into a mean submission, and made him cancel the decree that he had drawn up, and humour the seditious zeal of this fanatical father. See Basnage^c, whose judgment upon this occasion is rational and honest.

A. 389. There were at Alexandria two Pagan grammarians, of whom one was priest of *Jupiter*, the other was priest of *the Monkey*. This serves to illustrate Juvenal xv. 4.

‘Effigies sacri nitet aurea Cercopitheci.’

The image^s of the *Monkey-god* was preserved by the Christians, when they destroyed all the other idols in Alexandria, that it might be a monument of Ægyptian folly and superstition.

The Pagans and the Christians both made themselves merry with this Ægyptian god: but it is observable that he

^a Tillemont H. des Emp. v. 292.

^b lib. 114.

^c Socrates, v. 16.

hath survived Jupiter and Juno, and all the classical gods *majorum* and *minorum gentium*.

The Portuguese robbed a temple at Ceylon, and took away the celebrated 'tooth of the monkey,' which was most devoutly adored by the inhabitants, who offered an immense sum to the viceroy of Goa, to redeem it. But he, in his zeal against Pagan idolatry, chose rather to burn it publicly in the market-place. Huber, though he was a Dutchman, compares this action of the viceroy with the conduct of his own countrymen in Japan, where they had agreed to perform no public act of religion; and concludes that if they had been possessors of 'the monkey's tooth,' they would have made a different use of it.

Theophilus, having obtained leave to destroy the Pagan temples in Alexandria, set about it, and 'sent for the monks,' says Fleury^u, 'to assist him with their prayers.' Fleury should have said,—'with their fists.' *Non precibus, sed pugnis*.

A. 390. Theodosius made a law to curb the monks, requiring them to retire back to their deserts and caves, and to dwell there. This edict seems principally to have concerned the monks of Ægypt and Syria, who, under pretence of zeal, used to frequent the cities, and importune the magistrates and judges, soliciting them to forgive and discharge criminals, and even exciting tumults and seditions; and who also waged open war with the Pagans, destroying their idols, and demolishing their temples. Yet the emperor, whose second thoughts were not the wisest, repealed this law, about twenty months afterwards, as having been extorted from him by the importunity of magistrates, who were prejudiced against those godly men; and gave the monks a permission to ramble about, and enter into cities, when they in their wisdom thought proper^x.

The second Carthaginian synod was held this year, and it seems to have been held for little else than to favour episcopal pride, and episcopal encroachments^y.

A. 391. The head of John the Baptist^z is said to have been found. It was also found long afterwards in another

^u Bibl. Univ. xxiv. 180.

^x iv. 599.

^z See Fleury, iv. 586.

^y Basnage, iii. 124.

^z Sozomen, vii. 21. Basnage, iii. 128. 480.

place; whence it appears that this John was a Jafius, and had two heads.

‘ As at Amiens they were showing to the princess Mary the head of John the Baptist, she kissed it, and told me to draw near and do the same. I attentively viewed the shrine and its contents, and I did like the company; only saying in the softest manner, that this was the fifth or sixth which I had the honour to salute. This surprised her highness a little, and drew from her a sort of smile, which however was not perceived. The keeper of the relique, taking notice of my speech, replied, that indeed mention was made of several (for perhaps he had heard that there were such at St. John of Lyon; at St. John of Morienne; at St. John of Angely in Saintonge; at Rome; in Spain; in Germany; and in many other places), but that this was the genuine head: and to prove his assertion, he bade us observe the hole which was in the scull, over the right eye, and was the very hole which Herodias made with a knife when the head was brought to her in a charger. Methinks, said I, the Gospel hath taken no notice of this particular circumstance. But finding him grow warm in defence of the contrary, I submitted to him with great deference and respect*.”

Marcellus, bishop of Apamea, burnt a temple of Jupiter in a miraculous manner, and put a devil to flight who protected it.

‘ He put fire under some wood; but a devil of a black colour showed himself, and stopped the effect of the fire.

‘ Marcellus, immediately going to a church, ordered a vessel of water to be brought, and placed it under the altar, and offered up his prayers to God. Then signing the water with the sign of the cross, he sent his deacon to sprinkle the wood with it, and then to put fire to the wood. Whereupon the devil fled, being chased away by the virtue of the water, which proved like oil to the flame, and immediately consumed the temple^b.’

A. 392. Theodosius published the following law against Paganism and idolatry :

* Colonies, Rome Protestante, p. 753.

^b Theodoret, v. 21.

‘ Nullus omnino ex quolibet genere, ordine hominum, dignitatum, vel in potestate positus, sive potens sorte nascendi, seu humilis genere, conditione, fortuna, in nullo penitus loco, in nulla urbe, sensu carentibus simulacris vel insontem victimam cædat, vel secretiore piaculo, larem igne, mero genium, penates nidore veneratus, accendat lumina, imponat thura,serta suspendat. Quod si quispiam immolare hostiam sacrificaturus audebit, aut spirantia exta consulere, ad exemplum majestatis reus, licita cunctis accusatione delatus, excipiat sententiam competentem, etiamsi nihil contra salutem principum, aut de salute quæsierit^c,’ &c.

Ambrose highly extols this law, and the pious zeal of Theodosius in thus exterminating Pagan superstition; and Basnage^d is no less liberal of his encomiums.

See here how all taste was lost, and laws drawn up in a puerile, verbose, and pedantic style, in tawdry prose, consisting of ends and scraps of verses! Whatsoever Ambrose and Basnage might think of it, this was mere violence and persecution: and the decree, in all respects, both for matter and manner, was beneath the imperial majesty. One would think that the emperor intended to turn all his Christian subjects into informers and petty-foggers, and to set them, like so many spies and eaves-droppers, to peep into the dwellings of the Pagans, and to see whether they paid any religious honours to their household gods.

A. 394. Paulinus was ordained a presbyter, and afterwards bishop of Nola. Paulinus says, that the clergy of Rome envied all the ecclesiastics who had a reputation for piety, and gives this as one of the reasons for which he chose to live far from that city. He opposes to the proud and insolent manner in which pope Siricius had used him, the charity and affability of the bishops and the clergy who dwelt in the country.

Paulinus; as Du Pin observes, was not very learned; but there is something that is agreeable in his compositions. He was much beloved and esteemed by all the eminent men of his time, in all parties; and he never fell out with any

^c Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. x. p. 273.

^d iii. 137.

of them. He was remarkably charitable, and gave his great estate to the poor; he lived soberly and frugally, yet without practising any extraordinary mortifications. He was of a pious and humble temper, had a great veneration for saints and martyrs, a propensity to believe miracles, and a reverence for reliques^c.

Ausonius pays a compliment to Paulinus, and says;

‘Cedimus ingenio, quantum præcedimus ævo:
Assurgit Musæ nostra Camœna tuæ.’

The Donatists in Afric made a schism amongst themselves, and three hundred and ten of their bishops held a council, to condemn their own brethren, in which they poured out all sorts of execrations against them; and also implored the help of the civil magistrate. They thus pre-faced their decree:

‘Placuit Spiritui sancto, qui in nobis est, pacem firmare perpetuam, et schismata reserare sacrilega.—Maximianum [episcopum] fidei æmulum, veritatis adulterum, ecclesiæ matris inimicum, Dathan, Core et Abiron ministrum, de pacis gremio fulmen excussit, et quem adhuc eundem dehiscens terra non sorbuit, ad majus supplicium superis reservavit.’

Then they proceed to anathematize those who had ordained Maximianus:

‘Famosi ergo criminis reos—qui funesto opere perditionis vas sordidum collectâ feculentâ glutinauerunt, sed et clericos aliquando ecclesiæ Carthaginensis, qui dum facinori intersunt, illicito incestui lenocinium præbuerunt, Dei præsentis arbitrio, consilii ore veridico damnatos esse cognoscite.’

Augustin, writing against these men, says: You sent a crier to make proclamation, Whosoever shall communicate with Maximian, his house shall be burnt.—You seized upon Salvius, one of those prelates who ordained Maximian, and, tying dead dogs to the old man’s neck, you led him about the streets in triumph, dancing round him.

Yet after all this violence the Donatists made up the quarrel, and received Maximian and his partisans; which

^c See Cave, i. 228.

levity and inconstancy gave Augustin no small advantage in his disputes with these schismatics.

The uncouth style of this African decree, and its turgid jargon, we may pardon, as the fault of the age, and of the country; and the language of men who knew no better, and who doubtless thought the composition to be wonderfully smart and elegant: but the indecency of it is inexcusable, and the profane impudence of joining the name of God and of the holy Spirit to such uncharitable scurrility^f.

A. 395. " Arcadius and Honorius were taught to believe that the prosperity of their father Theodosius, and the destruction of their enemy Rufinus, were the effects of that emperor's piety; that is, according to the language of those days, of his exalting the orthodox, and depressing the heretics. Therefore they confirmed all that their father had done in favour of the church, and made many new laws against heretics and schismatics, against the Arians, Eunomians, Luciferians, Macedonians, &c. The Eunomians, who carried Arianism to the greatest length, were deprived of the power of making a will, or of receiving a legacy, and were excluded from all employments at court.

Arcadius ordered that all edifices, in which the heretics assembled at Constantinople, should be confiscated, that their ecclesiastics should be expelled from that city, and that they should not meet together, even to pray to God. What is singular, is, that this emperor was very favourable to the Jews, and took them under his protection. It is hard to conceive how these princes could hope to draw down the favour of Heaven by persecuting heretics, most of whom certainly received the greatest part of the essentials of Christianity, and by protecting the Jews who rejected it entirely. For, in short, a man must have been no better than fool or mad, not to see that the Jews were sworn enemies of Jesus Christ, and held him to have been an impostor; and that the heretics, as the Arians of all denominations, the Macedonians, &c. believed him, on the contrary, to be a person, at least, sent from God,

^f See Basnage, iii. 147.

and that they professed to acknowledge all his doctrines as true and sacred, though they might be mistaken in the sense which they affixed to some parts of them. This being the case, if Jesus Christ was well pleased when the heretics were persecuted, if he rewarded the orthodox persecutors with victories and prosperity, how much more must he have been delighted to see the Jews oppressed ! To reject the whole of Christianity, without deigning to give the Christians a hearing, as the Jews did ; and to profess an assent to the whole, and be mistaken only in some particular points ; these are faults which surely are not equal. Yet they showed the most favour to those who were most culpable ; and, with great severity, they oppressed those whose offence was smaller.

But it is easy to guess the cause of all this. They showed no regard to the ordinary rules of justice, and would not sedately consider their own proceedings. They complied with the passions of some orthodox prelates, who had no fear that the Jews would entice their congregations from them, and therefore cared not what the Jews said, or what they taught ; but being apprehensive lest heretical preachers should draw away their flock, and weary of disputing with such people, instigated the emperors to shut their mouths, and to treat them with severity. It was necessary therefore to talk of the glory of God, to describe him as grievously offended at those, who having the power to exterminate heretics, would not exert it ; to represent him as granting success to orthodox persecutors, and causing those to be shamefully overthrown, who had any compassion for the heterodox. As to the Jews, they were considered as quite out of the question ; as men with whom Jesus Christ had no concern. And perhaps the Jews, by bribes properly applied, bought the favours which were granted to them, whilst heretical Christians called themselves orthodox, and either scorned or scrupled to purchase that liberty which they had a right to enjoy.

The misfortune was, that the boasted victories obtained by these persecuting princes were very trifles, compared with the calamities under which the Roman empire had groaned for twenty years, and which Jerom deploras in tragical terms. But far heavier soon ensued in Italy and

Afric, by the invasions of the Goths and Vandals. No sufferings inflicted by the princes on the heretics, no curses and excommunications poured out upon them by holy councils, could avert the wrath of Heaven, which gave up the Roman empire a prey to barbarians.

It is strange that the emperors never once took it into their heads to try whether they could obtain the divine protection by a method directly contrary, by tolerating heretics, since, whilst they oppressed them, they saw the barbarians growing more and more formidable, and invading the best provinces of the empire. Such a conduct had been more conformable to natural humanity and Christian charity. Even the rules of worldly policy, and the peace and repose of the empire, might have induced them to try the experiment. But the outrageous zeal of the ecclesiastics, their desire to domineer over men's consciences, and their inhumanity, covered with the mask of orthodoxy, prevailed, and obliged the emperors to trample under foot justice, benevolence, charity and prudence, and totally to neglect the true interest of the public, that they might gratify the ceaseless importunity of the persecutors. I thought it proper to set forth truths of this importance once for all, that I may not resume the subject.—

As the emperors had published divers edicts against the temples and the idols of the Pagans, some turbulent Christians pulled down the statues which were placed only for ornament in baths and public edifices.

Honorius therefore ordered that such statues should not be touched either in Spain or Gaul. In Afric he forbade sacrificing, and ordered the temples to be shut: but he permitted those public rejoicings which they had been accustomed to repeat annually, and would not suffer the temples to be destroyed. Yet some officers of the emperor began to do it in Afric, as Augustin informs us*. In the East, Arcadius ordered that the idol-temples in the country places should be demolished through all Phœnicia.

Thus the Christians returned to the Pagans some of the same ill usage which they had received from them during

the three first centuries, instead of alluring them by the patience and mildness which they had so much preached up whilst they were the weaker party. This behaviour tended to make the Pagans still more obstinate, by showing them that the Christians had affected to talk of moderation and humanity only through self-interest, and not from any religious principle. This, at least, is certain, that the Christians lost all right to complain of the cruelty of the Pagan persecutors, and to cry up the lenity of their religion, which they thus dishonoured.

The laws against the Pagans may be found in the Theodosian code; and from them we learn that the pains and penalties which the Christians inflicted upon them were not so slight and inconsiderable as some may imagine. If a sacrifice was offered up in a private place, with the knowledge of the owner, the place was to be confiscated. If not, twenty-five pound-weight of gold was to be paid; and the penalty was the same for a sacrifice offered in a temple. If any one consulted the entrails of a victim, to discover future events, it was high treason. Augustin, who lived at this time, speaks thus to the Donatists;—
'*Quis nostrum, quis vestrum non laudat leges ab imperatoribus datas adversus sacrificia Paganorum? Et certe longe ibi poena severior constituta est; illis quippe impietatis capitale supplicium est.*'

This manner of acting was the more dangerous, as the country was still full of Pagan peasants, who defended their gods and their temples with great obstinacy and fury, and were not to be subdued without fighting. Thus though Arcadius, instigated by Chrysostom, had ordered that the temples of Phœnicia should be demolished without tumult, yet many of the monks were wounded and slain; for they were the *dragoons* usually employed on these occasions. We have an oration of Libanius in behalf of the temples, in which the Pagan orator acts the same part before Theodosius, as the Christian apologists had acted before Pagan emperors. One cannot reflect upon these things without concern, without wishing that the defenders of the truth had reserved to themselves the honour of being the only persons who were persecuted for religion.

The bishops of the fourth council at Carthage sent a

deputation to Honorius, requesting of him that he would destroy all the remains of Pagan idolatry and superstition. And this conduct of the Christians occasioned seditions in Africa^h.

It is somewhat strange that the fathers of those times, whose zeal was so active against heretics, and who defended the plundering of temples, and the burning of synagogues and conventicles, should have been silent upon another occasion, which seemed full as important at least, namely, the favour showed by Christian emperors to some Pagans whom they suffered to be governors of provinces, commanders of armies, magistrates, and consuls.

In the Theodosian codeⁱ it is said that they are comprised under the denomination of heretics, and subject to the punishments imposed on such, who are found to deviate even a hair's breadth from the Catholic church.

‘*Hæreticorum vocabulo continentur, et latis adversus eos sanctionibus debent succumbere, qui vel levi argumento a judicio Catholicæ religionis et tramite detecti fuerint deviare.*’

What a vile oppressive law! What an everlasting source of calumny, and of vexatious and scandalous informations^k!

A. 896. There was an earthquake at Constantinople, in many circumstances strangely resembling that which happened at London, in the year 1750.

For several days the earth shook at Constantinople, and the sky seemed to be on fire. A pious soldier had a revelation that the city should be destroyed by fire from heaven. He went and declared it to Nectarius, the bishop, who neglected not the admonition, but took occasion from it to exhort the people to repentance. In the beginning of the night a fiery cloud was seen in the east; which at first was small, but, as it drew nearer, grew larger, so as to hang over the whole city in a terrible manner, accompanied with a smell of sulphur. All the inhabitants fled to the church; but the church could not contain the multitudes. Every one, who was unbaptized, received baptism, as he could,

^h Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. viii. 264, &c.

^k See Barbeyrac, Mor. des P. p. 184.

ⁱ L. xvi. tit. v. p. 144.

from any one who would administer it. But the cloud began to diminish, and by degrees vanished. Scarcely had the people recovered their spirits, when it was reported that they must depart, for that the city would be destroyed on the next Sunday. Upon this alarm, they all went forth some miles from the city, and the emperor Honorius along with them, and prayed together in the fields. On a sudden they saw a great smoke, which went off, and was followed by a clear and serene sky; and then they returned home with great joy; and though they had left their houses open, nothing was stolen or lost¹.

A. 397. A third council was held at Carthage. One of its canons was:—

‘Cum altari assistatur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.’

Another was:—

‘Presbyter inconsulto episcopo virgines non consecret; chrisma vero nunquam conficiat.’

How alert and careful were these prelates to advance their own authority, and to depress the presbyters! It would have puzzled their African heads to assign a tolerable cause why a bishop should have a better hand at making chrism than a presbyter. If they had affirmed that he had a better hand at telling over money, some reason might possibly have been given for it.

Another canon was:

‘Corporibus defunctorum eucharistia non detur.’

Some persons had introduced the custom of giving the eucharist to the deceased, or of burying it along with them; and it continued to be sometimes practised for some centuries^m.

This year some Christians were massacred by Pagans. The malefactors were taken, and were released at the earnest request of certain religious people. It was a custom, of which we have many instances, to forgive such Pagans, lest the glory of martyrdom should be impaired if they who killed the martyrs were punished for it. But this was an absurd piety, since the welfare of civil society, and

¹ Prosper, Chron. Augustin. De Excid. Urb. Paulus Diaconus. Basnage, iii. 155. Tillemont, H. des Emp. v. 441.

^m See Dallæus, De Cult. Lat. p. 957.

the laws of God and man, require that murderers be put to death. Basnageⁿ ought to have made this remark on the occasion.

A. 398. Martinianus, a hermit, cast himself into the sea to avoid the company of a female; and was carried safe to land by two good-natured dolphins. Even Tillemont^o suspects the story of the dolphins to be fabulous.

‘ Let us not here pass over in silence a law of Arcadius against the Eunomians, those most pestilent heretics, “ in Eunomianos, pestilentissimos sane hæreticos,” who deserved to be detested by all good men, not only for their bad doctrines, but for their bad morals. Eunomius had written many books for the instruction of those of his sect; for which reason Theodosius the Great expelled him from the capital. Arcadius, using his best endeavours to extinguish this impious heresy, suffered not the Eunomians to hold assemblies either in cities or in villages.— He ordered also their books to be destroyed^p.’

Who would not imagine from these words of Basnage, that the Eunomians were most profligate men? They were, as to doctrine, a sect of Arians; in moral respects they were like their orthodox neighbours; and what is here affirmed of their wickedness seems to have been mere hearsay and calumny^q. Basnage should have considered that the Jesuits and other zealous Papists treated him and the Calvinists just as he was treating the Eunomians, and in the same sort of language would have said, concerning the revocation of the edict of Nantes: ‘ Let us not here pass over in silence a law of Louis the Great against the Calvinists, those most pestilent heretics,’ &c.

John Chrysostom was made bishop of Constantinople. Socrates gives this character of him: that he was sober, temperate, peevish, passionate, void of worldly wisdom and of dissimulation; incautious, using immoderate freedom in censuring persons of the highest rank; a rigid disciplinarian, desirous of reforming irregularities in the clergy and the laity, and very ready to deal about his ex-

ⁿ iii. 156.

^o xii. 39.

^p Basnage, iii. 169.

^q Remarks on Eccl. Hist. ii. 130.

communications; shunning the company and conversation of men, and appearing morose, haughty, and arrogant to those who knew him not intimately. By these qualities he disoblged the clergy, the men of rank and power in the state, the empress and the emperor, and lived in continual broils, and at last was deposed.

Tillemont and others are extremely offended at Socrates for making so free with the character of this great saint. Yet the historian's representation of him, upon the whole, seems fair and true enough.

He persecuted the Novatians and the Quartadecimans^r, which is a blot upon his character. His quarrel with the empress Eudoxia, whom he compared in one of his sermons to Herodias who wanted the head of John, showed his great indiscretion.

Jerom was one of his enemies, and, in a letter to Theophilus, cruelly insulted over him after he was deposed and banished.

Chrysostom had a peculiar affection for St. Paul, and he had the singular honour of receiving three visits from this apostle. But, says Tillemont^s, this story, having no better voucher than one George of Alexandria, must be looked upon as very uncertain. However, Baronius, who had a voracious appetite for pious frauds, adopts it, as he doth every thing else that served to delude the stupid populace.

Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, thinking it a glorious exploit to humble a bishop of Constantinople, and to trample upon him, brought together a number of vile, seditious, ignorant Ægyptian prelates, and drew in Epiphanius also, to condemn Chrysostom. Epiphanius, who had been some time with them at Constantinople on this occasion, seems to have perceived at last that it was mere pride, and impudence, and ambition, and private quarrels, and not religious motives, that stirred up Theophilus and his crew against Chrysostom; and therefore he suddenly left them all, and sailed for Cyprus, and died in the way.

^c Epiphanius, at the instigation of Theophilus, had condemned Ammonius and some other learned monks, as

^r Socrates, p. 326.

^s xi. 580.

guilty of Origenism. Ammonius therefore and his brethren paid him a visit; and being asked by him, who they were, replied: Father, we are the brethren who are called *Longi*; and I beg the favour of you to tell me whether you ever conversed with any of our disciples, or perused any of our writings. No, said Epiphanius. How then, said Ammonius, could you judge those men to be heretics of whose sentiments you had no proofs? I have been so informed, replied Epiphanius. But we, said Ammonius, have done the reverse of all this; for we have frequently conversed with your disciples, and have read over your works; and, having heard many persons make free with your character, and calumniate and censure you as an heretic, we have maintained your innocence, and defended you as our father. You should not therefore have condemned us unseen and unheard; upon reports and hearsays, nor have made so unsuitable a return to us for our good offices to you!'

The old bishop, who was in the main an honest and a well-meaning man, felt the force and the reasonableness of this civil reprimand, and treated these monks very courteously.

Sozomen adds:

'I have also heard, which is still reported by many, that Chrysostom foretold to Epiphanius, that he would die in his voyage homewards; and that Epiphanius foretold to Chrysostom, that he would be deprived of his bishoprick;'

Ἐν ᾧ γὰρ διεφέροντο, ὁ μὲν ἐδήλωσεν Ἰωάννην, Ἐλπίζω σε μὴ ἀποθανεῖν Ἐπίσκοπον· ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης αὐτὸν ἐδήλου, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε τῆς σῆς ἐπιθέσεσθαι πόλεως. *Nañ dum inter se dissiderent, Epiphanius quidem Joanni scripsisse dicitur: Spero te nequaquam episcopum esse moriturum. Joannes vero rescripsit Epiphanio: nec ego spero te in urbem tuam ingressurum esse.*

The meaning seems to be: *I am of opinion* that you will not die a bishop;—that you will not return home. Ἐλπίζω means, to expect a thing, whether it be wished or feared, or only foreseen; and the Latin verb *spero*

having the same ambiguity, Valesius chose it on purpose. Tillemont and Cousin translate it : ‘ *J’espere que vous ne mourrez point evesque :*’ and some have rendered it in English, ‘ *I hope you will not die a bishop.*’ They should rather have rendered it ; ‘ *Je pense, Je croy : I believe, I am of opinion.*’

Tillemont^u and Valesius on Socrates^x, reject this story as a fiction ; and not without cause.

Socrates, Palladius, and other writers agree in describing Theophilus as a prelate guilty of perjury, calumny, violence, persecution, lying, cheating, robbing, bearing false witness. His enmity to Chrysostom caused many to expose his faults, which perhaps they would else have palliated ; and few ecclesiastical historians, either antient or modern, have spared him.

Isidorus Pelusiota, an honest writer, represents a considerable number of the Ægyptian prelates and presbyters of those days as a set of vile wretches ; and Theophilus, and Cyril of Alexandria, as deserving to be censured on many accounts ; and, in an epistle to Cyril, speaks his mind freely, and very justly rebukes and reprimands him^y.

Isidorus^z was a monk and a presbyter, and one of the most valuable men of the fifth century. His works consist of a great number of epistles.

After Chrysostom’s deposition, the people, who were enraged at the loss of their pastor, and would not join themselves to the new elected bishop, were persecuted with the same inhumanity which the Pagans of old had showed towards the Christians. The barbarity of the Christians of the fifth century in their religious quarrels was carried to the utmost excess.—The emperor Arcadius had little hand in this persecution, though it was carried on in his name ; for he was a poor creature, absolutely governed by his haughty wife, and by the slaves and the eunuchs of the court.

When Chrysostom was sent into banishment, and lay at Cæsarea, the monks of that city, instigated by their bishop,

^u xi. 192.

^x vi. 14.

^y See Le Clerc, Art. Crit. iii. 166.

^z Du Pin, iv. 5, &c.

who hated Chrysostom, invested the place where he lay, threatening to burn the house over his head if he did not instantly depart. The soldiers quartered in the city came, and very civilly desired the monks to be quiet. But the monks set them at defiance, and told them that they had fought before then with their betters, and had beaten and routed the Prætorian troops, and would use them in the same manner if they made the least opposition. So the soldiers intreated Chrysostom to depart, sick and weak as he was, declaring that they could not protect him; that the monks were more furious than wild beasts, and that they would rather have to do with an army of the fiercest barbarians, than fight these desperadoes^a.

Learn from these things, and not from ecclesiastical historians, what sort of saints most of these monks were^b.

The reputation of Chrysostom was re-established thirty-five years after his decease.

‘It is a matter of wonder, says Socrates^c, how it came to pass, that the malice of envy attacked Origen after his death, and yet spared John Chrysostom: for the former, two hundred years after his decease, was excommunicated by Theophilus; the latter on the five-and-thirtieth year after his death was received to communion by Proclus. Such was the difference of manners in Proclus and Theophilus. But how these things have been done, and are now done, is no secret to men of sense.’

Upon which Valesius makes this solemn and pious remark:

‘Socrates here gives us broad hints of his own sentiments. He means, that such procedures flow from the partiality of envy, or of favour. The condemnation of Origen, so long after his death, he ascribes to the envy which Theophilus bore to Origen himself, or to the monks who were called *Longi*; the honours paid to Chrysostom, whose body was brought back to his own country, he imputes to the fond affection of Proclus and of the people of Constantinople. But I cannot acquiesce in this judg-

^a Chrysostom, Epist. 13. ad Olymp.

^b Concerning the disorderly conduct of the monks, see Stillingfleet, vol. v. 635.

^c vii. 48.

ment of Socrates. For although in transactions of this kind human passions bear some share, yet the divine justice and providence, which presides over the church, is always the first mover. Origen therefore was and is condemned for the impiety of his doctrines; and Chrysostom, for the integrity of his life and the orthodoxy of his opinions, was justified, and is received by the church amongst the saints.

So then, the divine Providence is particularly concerned in the canonization of saints, in exalting John to a place in the calendar, and in excommunicating Origen by the ministry of the wicked Theophilus! This puts me in mind of pope Urban VIII. who, having received ill treatment from some considerable persons at Rome, said; How ungrateful is this family! To oblige them, I canonized an ancestor of theirs who did not deserve it.

Did Valesius give himself these airs to please the French clergy? or did he deliver his real sentiments? He insults the memory of Origen, and yet he was a strenuous defender of Eusebius, who, if tried by the same rules of judging, was as to some of his theological notions not less reprehensible than his master Origen. But Valesius by publishing Eusebius contracted perhaps a fondness for him; and therefore it is a pity that he did not publish Origen likewise.

Basnage^d, who commends Chrysostom, yet censures him for one thing, for allowing too much to human power and human liberty in the performance of religious actions. The charge is so far just enough, that John Chrysostom, to be sure, did not talk on those subjects like John Calvin, and the rest of the Christian fatalists.

A. 898. The fourth council of Carthage was now held. Their sixteenth canon is:

‘Episcopus Gentilium libros non legat, hæreticorum autem pro necessitate.’

The bishops soon began to relish this good advice, and not to trouble their heads with literature.

Another canon is:

‘No woman shall teach in the church, or administer

baptism: 'we must understand this, says Fleury^a, 'except in case of necessity: ' which is a false gloss, in favour of the practice of the church of Rome; for whether the practice be allowable or not, certain it is that these Carthaginian bishops did not permit it.

A. 399. Rufinus and Jerom fell out.

'It must be confessed that Rufinus, though extremely ill used by Jerom, was one of the most able men of his time. He was not perhaps as learned as the saint, but he had more sedateness. His phrase is not pure, but his style is more uniform. Though accused of many errors, he hath been convicted of none, and he justified himself very well. — So that, in my opinion, many of the moderns have most unjustly insulted his memory^f.'

Rufinus, says Noris^g, published an orthodox confession of faith. Basnage^h justifies him, and shows that Jerom began the quarrel; and Caveⁱ also favours him.

A. 399. This year some scandalous diversions were put down by Arcadius.

There was a festival called *majuma*, held in the month of August for seven days; during which time the theatres were open for the most indecent sights; women were exhibited naked, and swimming in large baths, and all sorts of debaucheries were practised. This festival had been abolished once before; but being restored to please the populace, it was a second time put down. Chrysostom's eloquence and authority contributed much to this reformation, who in his sermons severely rebuked his Christian audience, for their fondness of such obscene and wicked entertainments. The graver Pagans were no less offended at this licentiousness, and Libanius mentions it with detestation^k.

If Chrysostom had lived in our days, he would have exerted himself against *masquerades*, which surely are no better schools of morality than this *majuma*.

At the latter end of this fourth century, the number of Egyptian monks only, upon a moderate computation, is

^a v. 85.

^f Du Pin.

^g Histor. Pelag.

^h iii. 174.

ⁱ i. 268.

^k Basnage, iii. 172. Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. viii. 271.

supposed to have been seventy-six thousand; and that of the nuns twenty-one thousand. But in following times the number of these religious persons in the Christian world was doubled and trebled¹.

A. 400. About this time lived Posidonius, a famous physician, who held that there were no dæmoniacks, and that they who were accounted such, either were impostors, or laboured under a mere bodily distemper. Philostorgius^m mentions this, but was not himself of the opinion of Posidonius.

Fabiola died at Rome, a lady greatly commended by Jeromⁿ. He says that she was the first who founded an hospital there for the sick and needy, Νοσοκομείον.

‘THE works^o of St. Chrysostom, who flourished under Theodosius the Great, and his son Arcadius, throw much light on the customs and manners of the fourth and fifth centuries. This popular orator hath introduced in his discourses and in his other writings all that passed in his time at the emperor’s court, and amongst the consuls, the nobles, and the common people. He describes the circus, the theatres, and all kinds of spectacles, the form and the ornaments of houses, the house-keeping, the feasts, and many other things, often entering into a remarkable detail.

‘The emperors’, says he, ‘wore either a diadem, or a crown set with the most precious stones, and a purple tunic. This distinguished them from others. They also wore silken robes embroidered with gold, in which dragons were represented.’

These dragons on the robes of Theodosius have excited my curiosity, to search whether the subsequent emperors ever had the like ornament on their robes. I have examined those which Du Cange hath caused to be engraved, and others which came not to his knowlege, and find nothing of the like kind.

Our author says more than once, that their throne was

¹ See Fleury, v. 30.

^m viii. 10. p. 524.

ⁿ Epist. 30.

^o Montfaucon.

of solid gold. In another place he informs us how the emperors were represented in pictures :

‘ The ground of the picture is blue. The emperor appears on his throne, having at his sides his horses and his guards. His conquered enemies also appear loaded with chains.

He is more copious on the emperor’s processions :

‘ They who accompany him are covered with gold. The two mules that draw his chariot are extremely white, and shining all over with gold. His chariot is adorned with precious stones, mixed with plates of gold, which glisten as they are shaken. The carpet at the bottom of the chariot is white as snow. His guards, and the soldiers that follow him, are also covered with gold. The bosses of their shields are gilt ; and the great one in the middle is surrounded with smaller gilded bosses, which have the shape of the human eye.’

White horses and mules passed antiently amongst princes as a mark of sovereignty. According to Herodotus, the Cilicians were obliged to give yearly to Darius, king of Persia, three hundred and sixty white horses. Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, says Livy, went forth from his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses ; and was imitated in it by Hieronymus, one of his successors. Nero also entered into Naples in a chariot with four white horses, according to Suetonius. Many popes took up the use of such horses, as a sign of sovereignty, and granted it to some prelates. As to the emperors of the West, they continued this use down to the lower ages. When the emperor Charles IV. paid a visit to his cousin Charles V. of France, this king, lest the emperor should make his entry into Paris as into a city of his own dominions, sent a black horse for him, and another for his son, and he himself mounted on a white one entered between them into Paris, as being alone sovereign there.

Yet this did not hinder the subjects of the emperors (who could not dispute their sovereignty) from making use of the same coloured horses. The consuls, the nobles, and the men of great fortunes, went in chariots drawn by white mules or horses, whose heads were covered with silver or gold.

The spears of the emperor's guards were gilt, as well as their shields; their clothes were tissue of gold; and the trappings of their horses were gilt.

When the emperor made a præfect, he gave him gold tablets, as a mark of his office. The letter of an emperor was sometimes called *sacra*, *the sacred*, without adding the substantive *epistola*. We see an instance of it in the letter which Honorius sent to his brother Arcadius in favour of St. Chrysostom. 'Sacra Honorii Augusti missa ad principem Orientis Arcadium.' The emperor also used to send *νοτάριον*, a notary, to carry his orders.

Let us pass on to the consuls, the archon, and the great lords.

'They wore,' says he, 'garments of silk, and belts, and shoes wrought with gold. The archon, who is the first of the magistrates, is distinguished from the rest by his belt, and by the voice of an herald who goes before him; by his guards, his chariot, and his sword.'

Their eunuchs also were magnificently dressed. What he relates of the number of the servants and domestics of the nobles and the rich, seems almost incredible. He says that some had a thousand, some two thousand, many of whom wore collars and bracelets of gold, and most of whom were barbarians.

The description of the palaces of the great passeth all that we have hitherto produced.

'The roofs made of wood, were all gilt. The doors, even the large folding-doors, were of ivory. In all the chambers the walls were incrustated with marble. If they were only of common stone, it was covered with plates of gold. The beams and cielings were gilt, and the apartments were inlaid with small stones, and often with precious stones. Over the floors were sometimes spread very rich carpets. Their taste for magnificence could bear nothing of the ordinary kind. In the rooms were great pillars of marble, with their chapiters gilt, and sometimes the whole pillars were gilt; statues by the most excellent artists, pictures, and mosaic work. The beds were usually of ivory or of wood gilt, or covered with silver plates, and sometimes of solid silver decorated with gold. All the furniture

was surprisingly rich. The chairs and benches were of ivory; the pots and other vessels, even for the meanest use, were of gold and silver.'

It appears from our orator, that Lacedæmonian veils or clokes were then in high esteem, as they had been in preceding times. In the pomp of Ptolemy, described by Athenæus, it is said that Nisa, the nurse of Bacchus, was arrayed in a Lacedæmonian veil or mantle.

'These mansions of the rich had baths, great porticoes, long alleys for walking, large gardens, and sometimes aqueducts to water the ground.

'Their tables were bordered with silver. All the utensils employed there were either gold or silver. This semicircular table was so large, that two men with difficulty could lift it.'

This is that table which Martial calls *sigma*, having the form of that Greek letter, which in those times resembled the Latin C. But it approached nearer to the shape of the horned moon. It was covered with a sort of carpet, on which one might lie or sit down; and this fashion lasted for some time after the fifth century. But afterwards, though the table had its old form, it was not used as a couch. They sat about this table on the convex side. We see this *sigma* in the monuments of William the Conqueror, taken from the tapestries of Bayeux. He is there described sitting with his company on the convex side. They had then brought back the antient custom, as it was in the days of Homer, of sitting at table; for it was not till after the time of this poet that the fashion of reclining on couches at dinner obtained in Greece.

'Near this table,' says our author, 'was placed an huge vase of gold, weighing half a talent, which two young men could scarcely lift, and by it many golden cups stood in a row. The footmen of the guests were all young, handsome, and as magnificently dressed as their masters. There were also musicians, players on the flute and the lyre; and plenty of perfumes from India, Arabia, and Persia.'

As to the meats which were served up, he is not very particular. They had pheasants and other fowls. No great regularity was observed in the courses. Some began

with birds broiled, and stuffed with fish ; others with other dishes.

The wine which was most esteemed was that from the island Thasos, so renowned amongst the Greeks and Latins. There was always a great number of parasites : these were flatterers, who fastened themselves upon the rich, extolling them perpetually, that they might be admitted to their tables.

When the great men walked in the city, there was a crier, magnificently dressed, who proclaimed their coming ; a number of lictors carrying rods, and driving away the crowd ; and a multitude of slaves and parasites. These nobles on such occasions wore a belt or scarf of gold, accounted a most considerable badge of honour.

Our orator often declaims violently against the luxury of the females.

‘ Besides ear-rings, they have other ornaments for their cheeks ; their faces are painted, their gowns wrought with gold, and they have golden ornaments upon their hands. Their shoes are black, and shining, and painted at the end. They go in chariots drawn by white mules, with golden reins ; a troop of eunuchs follow them, and a great number of chambermaids and servants. Of their pride and vanity there are no bounds.

‘ Young persons of quality appeared also splendidly appareled in the public places, attended with many servants dressed as sumptuously. Their shoes were adorned with gold, and they had golden bracelets.’

He informs us also that the Greeks had pocket-books, in which, after they had rubbed out the former writing, they wrote again on the same page, *ἐν δέλτῳ ἐξηλειμμένη*. The Latins did the same, and wrote in *palimpsesto*, as Cicero says, or upon the page rubbed out. They who wrote mis-sive letters put their name at the top.

Gymnic Combats ; the Circus and the Hippodromus.

In these combats the conquerors were crowned with branches of laurel and of the olive tree.

The emperors usually assisted at the games of the circus and the hippodromus. Before the combatants were placed crowns and garments for the victors.

They who ran in the circus knew the name, the pedigree, the country, and the education of the horses, and the victories which they had gained. They often cast their eyes upon the emperor, to see whether he approved their performance, and whether they might hope for the prize: they paid little regard to the applauses of the people. The number of the spectators was so great, that not only the sides of the circus, but the windows and roofs of the neighbouring houses were crowded with them. Many women of no reputation and boys were there to be seen.

In the hippodromus the racers struggled violently to obtain the prize, and to overturn the chariots which were before them. Our preacher mentions a sad accident at Constantinople in the hippodromus.

‘The disaster of yesterday hath attracted the attention of all the city. The women ran thither in droves, and nothing was to be heard but outcries and lamentations when the body of the dead youth was carried along. On the next day he was to be married, and all was prepared for the nuptials, when the herald told him that it was his turn to run in the hippodromus. In the midst of the course, being attacked by his antagonists, he was flung down, and the other chariots ran over him and killed him.

The Olympic^p Games.

It appears that they were then in vogue, and celebrated after great preparations. In these games, when the combatant hath prepared himself during thirty days, in the city, he is carried to the suburbs, and the herald proclaims, Can any one accuse this person of being a slave, or a robber, or a man of an infamous life? If he was even suspected of being a slave he could not be admitted to the combat.

The *athletæ* were quite naked, exposed to the beams of the sun. The spectators sat from midnight to the following midnight, to know who should be victorious. During the night-time, the herald was very attentive to hinder any of the combatants from stealing away in the dark and disgracing himself.

^p I know of no author who hath informed us when the Olympic games, and other games of the same kind, ceased.

The master of the games animated the combatants, being himself out of the place of battle. It was not permitted to him to come up to them, or to assist them any other way than by exhortation. In these combats the wrestler, the boxer, the *pancratiastes* who went through all the gymnastic exercises, were engaged many times over; but as soon as they were victors, the herald complimented them on their success.

Sometimes youths, probably boys of quality, were chosen to be *agonothetæ*, masters or presidents of the gymnastic combats, or of the musical performances; or *thallophori*, so called because they carried branches in their hands.

The Theatres.

‘The theatres were adorned with veils or curtains. Many actors came upon the stage, to represent some fabulous or some antient history. One acted a philosopher, another a king,’ &c.

He often inveighs against the spectacles of the theatre, and not without reason; not only because the actions represented made young persons soft and effeminate, but because no regard was paid to modesty and to decency.

‘You see there a boy, with his hair cast behind, affecting by his looks, his dress, and his gestures, the appearance of a girl. An old man, on the contrary, hath his head close shaved, and casting off all shame along with his hair, holds out his cheeks to every one, to give him slaps on the face, and is ready to say and to do any thing.’

Women also appeared bare-headed. Their discourses were incentives to debauchery, and their aim was to destroy modesty and chastity. Add to this the musical instruments accompanying their voice, and the dramatic representations, all concurring to the same vile purpose.

‘You see a woman making her appearance on the stage, barefaced, and with all imaginable impudence, arrayed with a golden robe, and remarkable by her wanton airs, her obscene songs, and her filthy discourses.’

Sometimes these actresses showed themselves naked; and in the theatre there was a large bath, where they used to swim in the sight of the assembly.

Of the Rope-dancers.

This exercise was very frequent in the east. The ropes were fastened in such an oblique manner, that there was no walking upon them, except by ascending or descending. The least side-cast of the eye, or the smallest inattention, gave the dancers a fall into the orchestra, which cost them their lives. They no longer observed the precaution of the good emperor Marcus Aurelius, who caused cloths to be spread under the dancers, to save them from harm; nor the practice of hanging up nets, as Capitolinus informs us, for the same humane purpose. In the time of Theodosius there were neither men on horse-back, nor elephants walking upon the rope, which had been practised in former times, as some writers affirm.

‘Some, says our author, after having walked on the rope, laid themselves down upon it, and pulled off their clothes, as though they had been going to bed, and then put them on again; a spectacle from which some turned away their eyes, and which made others tremble at the sight of so perilous an action.’

Other extraordinary Performances.

‘There were persons who, being drawn up above the orchestra, made use of their limbs, as of wings, to fly. Others cast naked swords up into the air, and, as they fell, caught them by the handle.

‘Some put a pole on their forehead, which remains erect and steady, as though it were a tree growing in the ground; and, which is stranger still, on the top of this pole there are little boys who fight together. He who carrieth the pole useth neither his hands nor any part of his body to support it, whilst it remains thus immoveable.’

What is more difficult, says he, than to play at bowls in the midst of swords? It is not easy to explain the situation of these swords, or wherein the difficulty consisted. But he speaks of it as of an exercise practised in his days, and very dangerous.

• At Antioch there were people who kept lions, and made them quite tame. They led them about the city, and showed

them for money, and it was a profitable trade. When it happened that these beasts, as yet untamed, brake loose from their master's house, all the doors were shut up in the neighbourhood, and the walkers in the streets were obliged to run, and trust to their heels.

*Enchantments, Divinations, Prestiges, Auguries,
Presages.*

It is suprising to find in our author how much the easterns in general, particularly the Antiochians, were addicted to these superstitious follies. Some made use of enchantments and ligatures to cure the diseased. Others, to protect themselves from danger, repeated certain verses, and employed certain bandages. Others tied to their head or to their feet golden medals of Alexander the Great⁹, hoping that the image of this Pagan prince would be serviceable to them. It may be supposed that this was practised only by those who still continued addicted to Paganism. Alexander, says Zelian, wanted to be acknowledged as the thirteenth god ; for the Greeks, as well as the Romans, held twelve superior gods. But there were many Christians at Antioch who still had some remains of Paganism.

‘ As soon as children are born, the women light lamps, and give the infants the name of some long-lived person, to procure them the same blessing ; and yet it so happens that they often die in their infancy. They put into their hands a *sistrum*, and rattles, and threads of a scarlet colour, for their safeguard. They go and dip their finger in the mud that settles at the bottom of baths, and then rub it on the child's forehead. If you ask them, For what ? It is, say they, to protect the infant from an evil eye, and from the effects of envy and jealousy. Some write upon the child's hand the name of a river or stream ; others use cinders, soot, and salt, for the same purposes.’

‘ There was no sort of divination which was not in vogue, as the observation of days, auguries, presages, &c.

⁹ I suspect that their using as an amulet the medal of Alexander, arose partly from the etymology of the name, which comes from *ἀλεξέω*, to assist, to succour.

‘They are ever terrified with panic fears. At going out, I met such a person ; it forbodes me much evil. My careless servant, when he brought me my shoes, gave me the left shoe first : a sure mark that I shall be exposed to misery and ill usage. When I went forth, the first step I made was with my left foot ; some calamity will befall me. Then my right eye turned downwards ; I shall be obliged to shed tears. The braying of an ass, the crowing of a cock, the sneezing of a man, all these are ominous.’

The Tribunals, Judgments, Usury.

The hall in which the judges sat had large curtains, which concealed the judges from being seen. Thence the place had the name of Βῆλον, *velum*. When the judge came forth from behind the veil, to ascend the tribunal, the keepers of the jails produced the prisoners. When a man condemned to die was carried to execution, he was led through the market-place, with a rope put in his mouth, to hinder him from speaking and complaining of his judge, or of his accusers.

All sorts of acts, deeds, covenants, contracts, testaments, were of no validity if they had not at the beginning the name of the consul, and the year of the consulate.

The usury called *centesima*, of which he often speaks, is supposed to have been the hundredth part of the principal, to be paid monthly, by way of interest. So that he who borrowed an hundred pounds, paid one pound a month, or twelve pounds a year for it.

Marriages.

He often censures the manner in which they were celebrated. It consisted in dances, immodest songs, hymns in honour to Venus, and representations of adulteries. Prostitutes were invited to the entertainment ; and, after the feast, the guests, most of them fuddled, led about the town the bride splendidly arrayed and painted, and sang scandalous ballads, offensive not only to Christians, but even to the Pagans.

The Highways.

He observes that they were in a better condition in his time

than they had been before. They were distinguished by *Μοναί*, *mansions*, into which passengers could retreat; and at certain distances there were guards to defend the travellers. At length, for more security, they built houses at the end of every mile, where guards were appointed for this purpose, to watch day and night. In those times fifteen *stadia* were two miles.

The Kalends and Festivities.

In the rejoicings at Antioch on the first day of January, the whole night was spent in dancing and scoffing at one another. The market-place was adorned with garlands. They put on their best apparel, and then they made their presages. If we pass this new moon in joy, said they, the whole year will be joyful. The women, as well as the men, drank bumpers of unwatered wine. When Theodosius forgave the Antiochians the insult which they had committed in flinging down his statues, and dragging them through the streets, they made great rejoicings, adorning the market-place with crowns, lighting up lamps, and bringing out couches before the doors. These were the *lectisternia* of the antient Romans, still practised in Syria.

The Pagan Philosophers of those Times.

They were remarkable for their long beards, and their clokes of a particular form, and their staff, which they always carried in their hand. Where are now, says he, these men, these Gentile philosophers, these cynics, who practise the trade of expiating the crimes of men? Wretches more contemptible than the dogs under the table, and ready to do any thing to fill their bellies.

Funerals.

When any one expired, his parents or brethren shut his eyes and mouth, according to the antient practice. There were no graves within the city: they carried the dead out of them to be buried. This custom was antient, but often ill observed. The bodies of the rich were wrapped up in a silken robe, and carried upon gilded beds. The people assembled about them, celebrating the memory of the deceased. The domestic servants were covered with sack-

cloth, and so were the horses, led by the grooms. Often they put ashes on their heads.

St. Chrysostom condemns black or mourning clothes; but with more reason he inveighs against the *præfixæ*, or women hired to act as mourners, who had their arms bare, and tore up their hair, and scratched their faces.

The Persians and Scythians.

They married their own mothers so commonly, that, as he says, a Persian was to be admired who abstained from this vile practice. In his time they still worshipped the fire.

‘ Their king,’ says he, ‘ wears a golden beard; and persons skilled in that art covered every hair of it with gold.’

But it seems probable that this was a fictitious beard, as were in antient times the beards of the Parthian kings, of which we have in our *antiquities* produced a great number that are plainly artificial.

The Scythians, Hamaxobii, and the Nomades, built no houses, but lived in carts, as the word Hamaxobii denotes, not only in the time of Chrysostom, but from the remotest antiquity.

THESE are the things of which Chrysostom occasionally informs us concerning the fashions, manners, and luxury which prevailed in the time of Theodosius and of his son Arcadius. Most of these particularities would have been unknown if he had not mentioned them; and in vain should we seek them in contemporary authors.

Polite antiquity was much upon the decline in this age, and sunk continually afterwards, till a kind of barbarity ensued. And yet the monuments of the following ages are not to be neglected, but are rather an object worthy of our curiosity. The degrees of this degeneracy make up a considerable part of history, and should be carefully noted by good historians.

It must also be owned that to these lower ages we are indebted for the most necessary and useful inventions, which had been undiscovered when the elegant arts seemed to have been in a state of perfection. Glass windows, for example, were not invented till about the age of Theodo-

sus the elder; and St. Jerom, if I mistake not, is the first who hath spoken of them. Before this time they never thought of applying glass to this purpose. Seneca says that in his days they began to use transparent stones in their windows. They were fetched from different countries, and they used to cut those which let the most light through. The younger Pliny had them. Yet what seemed more obvious for people, who for so long a time had employed and fashioned glass to other purposes, than to apply it to this use, to let in the light, and to shut out the air?

It was also about the time of Theodosius that they began to bring to perfection the *ephippia*, or saddles for horses. On the Theodosian pillar at Constantinople, we find some of the horses that had pommels before and behind, which shows that they had wood within, to keep them firm; whilst before this they had only saddle-cloths, or coverings of no great thickness, as we see in abundance of horsemen represented on the pillars of Trajan and Antoninus, on the arch of Constantine, and other monuments.

After this time was invented the use of stirrups. We see none in the representation of horsemen before the days of Theodosius. To which it must be added, that the Greeks and Latins had not a word which signified a *stirrup*. *Stapes*, or *stapeda*, is a word made in the lower and barbarous ages; which have left us so few monuments of this kind, that we cannot by the help of them discover the origin of stirrups.

Water-mills and wind-mills were also unknown to the times of polite antiquity. The admirable invention of clocks, moved by wheels and springs, is owing to the times of barbarity, since Charlemain; for the beautiful clock which the king of Persia sent him in the year 807, and of which historians speak with admiration, was not in the form of our clocks. Some have ascribed the invention of them to Pacificus, archdeacon of Verona, who lived not long before Charlemain; but this is very uncertain^r.

In these extracts from Chrysostom, made by Montfaucon, you may behold the vanity, dissipation, levity, pride,

^r Montfaucon, in the Mem. de l'Acad, xx. 197.

voluptuousness, effeminacy, luxury, debauchery, and superstition of the fourth and fifth centuries; to which is to be added the spirit of altercation and oppression, in things relating to religion; all foreboding and forerunning, and naturally producing the great corruption of the church, and the fall of the Roman and Greek empire; just as gray hairs and the increasing infirmities of old age bring a man down to the grave. To God's good providence, and to the promise of our Lord, it is to be ascribed that Christianity was not obliterated in ensuing times. The holy Scriptures, and some old Christian records and writings escaped the hands of so many false friends and open enemies, and were the means by which religion was kept from perishing till the reformation; and after it, Christianity hath been better defended and explained than it had been before, since the apostolical days.

The fathers of the fourth and following centuries, considered as historians or recorders of facts, are valuable; considered as divines, are of very small use and importance, for the most part.

Montfaucon is mistaken about *water-mills*. They were made use of in the time of Augustus, as it appears from a pretty epigram^s of Antipater of Thessalonica, in which the poet tells the maid-servants who used to work at the mill, that they might now sleep longer in the morning, and not be alarmed at the crowing of the cock; because Ceres had engaged the water-nymphs to supply their office in grinding the corn.

‘ A. 401. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, caused the works of Origen to be condemned in a synod, which he held in that city; and ordered that all those who approved them should be excommunicated. It appears strange that Origen's works should have passed so many years without public censure, and at last should be condemned on account of a few Platonic notions, whilst so many books full of monstrous errors were suffered to appear with impunity, and to take their course through the world. This I say would appear strange, if Socrates and Sozomen had not pre-

^s Published by Salmasius, ad Hist. August. Scriptores, v. i. p. 857. Boivin, Mem. de l'Acad. iii. 391. Jenlius and Herings, Observ. p. 183.

served the history of this affair, and showed us that it was a particular pique of one covetous and violent prelate, of Theophilus, who laid hold on this pretext to ruin some ecclesiastics, and some Ægyptian monks, who could not approve his vile behaviour. He employed the basest disingenuity and the most scandalous tricks to revenge himself upon these men, as the two historians above-named assure us. Baronius indeed, and his abbreviator Spondanus, pretend that these historians were imposed upon by some Origenists. But of this they have no proof to produce; and I see no reason why we should believe Theophilus in his own cause against the Origenists. It is as propable, to consider the thing in general, that he was not an honest man, as that they whom he persecuted were not honest men; for we know full well that bishopricks have not always so happy an effect upon men as to make them better Christians. But by examining the conduct of Theophilus towards Chrysostom, we see that there was nothing of which he was not capable. From the first dialogue of Sulpitius Severus it appears that many in those days thought Theophilus to be in fault; and they who shall peruse the epistles of Isidorus, who was a contemporary, and who knew Theophilus and his behaviour, will see that this illustrious anchoret had an exceeding bad opinion of him. Epiphanius, it may be said, and Jerom commend him. True: but it is no less true that these were not men of sedatenes, moderation, and impartiality; and that they sided with the party that was uppermost. Jerom in particular had once extolled and followed Origen: and after his quarrels with his own bishop, John of Jerusalem, and with Rufinus, he turned about and began to insult and defame Origen. His works show that he was a man strangely impetuous and wrong-headed, to say no more.

Theophilus having sent his paschal letter to Rome, in which he condemned the works of Origen, and some ladies there, amongst whom was Marcella, a friend of Jerom, having caballed and solicited against Origen, Anastasius condemned this father, upon the sight of some translations of some of his works.

To proceed regularly in an affair of such consequence, and to do justice to a writer of such eminence and reputation as Origen, they should first have appointed learned and

disinterested men to peruse his works, and to extract the erroneous opinions which might be found in them, and to distinguish those parts and those treatises which contained nothing blameable; and thus to assist and caution the reader, and enable him to form a right judgment of this author. If in his treatises there were some Platonic notions interspersed; yet there were also many excellent remarks, and of perpetual use to the church. But the blind violence of the Ægyptians, instigated by their patriarch, admitted no kind of moderation; whilst the wiser Christians of those days were for more candid and discreet methods, as it may be seen in the first dialogue of Sulpitius Severus.

About the same time, Porphyry of Gaza wanted leave to destroy the idols and the temples in his diocese. Chrysostom, who was then in disgrace at court, recommended him to the eunuch Amantius, and he introduced him to the empress Eudoxia who was then near lying-in. He said to her; 'Labour for Jesus Christ; and for a recompense he shall give you a son, who shall live and be emperor, you seeing and enjoying him for many years.'

A few days afterwards she had a son; and Porphyry, who had ventured upon this prophecy, trusting to a prediction of one Procopius, a monk of Rhodes, obtained his request. Yet the prophecy was not perfectly accomplished; for Eudoxia died in the year 404. To save the credit of the oracle, Pagi translates it; 'He shall live and be emperor for many years, you seeing and enjoying him.' Eudoxia therefore having seen her son emperor (for his father immediately gave him that title), for four years enjoyed the promised happiness in some sort.

It would be much better to abstain from this custom of promising such blessings, and of representing temporal prosperity as a divine favour; and of thus inducing Christian princes to oppress those who hold erroneous opinions. For it is not true that Providence favours persecutors more than other persons; and if we presume to judge who are God's favourites by these tokens, infidels will take as much advantage from them as Christians. Thus Libanius, in one of his orations, observes that Constantine had been punished for seizing upon the riches of the temples, since he put to death his wife, and one of his sons; and after his decease

his children took up arms against each other, and were all extinct; and that it had been better for him to have left a flourishing posterity, than a city called by his name [Constantinople], and embellished by him with the plunder of other cities. His son Constantius, says he, who destroyed the temples also, and gave the spoils of them to his courtiers, lived in perpetual fear of the Persians; and all they who appropriated to themselves those sacred things came to an untimely end. Thus talks this Pagan orator: and in like manner the Pagans insulted the Jews for the calamities which they underwent.

This is enough to show that temporal prosperity and adversity prove nothing concerning the favour or displeasure of Heaven; whatsoever they may pretend who make use of such arguments to serve their own ends, and to excite princes to actions good or bad. But the holy prelates of those days loved things temporal at least as much as things spiritual; and were very jealous about the prerogatives of their sees, and for ever wrangling about their titles, powers, and privileges^t.

Amongst the vile methods which were practised to run down the Origenists, Arians, and Nestorians, are to be placed the visions of a certain monk. This fellow had been converted from Nestorianism, and was favoured with a marvellous sight. A man of a formidable aspect took him to a dark, stinking, burning cavern, and there showed him Nestorius, Theodorus, Arius, and Origen, tormented in the fire^u.

A. 402. 'Sulpitius Severus was a disciple of Martin of Tours, and a particular friend of Paulinus of Nola. He wrote the life of Martin, and celebrated his miracles. His style is elegant, and far superior to that which was current in those days.'

When he was a presbyter he built a church, and desired Paulinus to give him some relique to place in it; and Paulinus sent him a bit of the cross.

Those ages were not ages of examination and accuracy, but of credulity and negligence; and any story was propagated which seemed adapted to confirm the people in the

^t Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. viii. 280.

^u See Basnage, iii. 185.

faith. Thus Sulpitius and other writers tell us that Helena, having built a church on the spot whence Christ ascended up into heaven, it was not possible to pave the place on which our Saviour had trodden immediately before his ascent; and that whatsoever was laid there was flung back into the face of the workmen; and that the print of his feet was impressed on the ground; and that the sand, though it was carried away, could never be diminished.

Here we see either the credulity, or the pious policy of Sulpitius, which induced him to speak of this fable as of an undoubted truth, for the edification of good souls. But if his credulity, real or pretended, for imaginary miracles be censurable, he deserves commendation for condemning the bloody persecution of the Priscillianists.

His Life of Martin abounds with prodigies, which if we admit, we must at the same time admit the most absurd and incredible legends, and thereby cause the best attested miracles to become suspected. This is an important point, and it deserves serious consideration. 'It is a dangerous thing,' says Plutarch, 'to be too credulous, or too incredulous on some points, because of the weakness of human nature, which can so difficultly preserve the true medium, and sometimes runs into superstition and enthusiasm, sometimes into a neglect and contempt of things relating to the Deity. The best way is to proceed cautiously, and to avoid extremes.' A Christian divine could not give better advice, and it will be a shame for us to be less wise in this respect than a Pagan.

Miracles then are not to be admitted or rejected, without a fair examination. When the relaters had means of being well informed, and no occasion to depend upon rumours, it only remains to consider whether they were not deceived themselves, or whether they were not disposed to deceive us.

When they are things which, as they declare, they had seen many times, and leisurely reviewed and considered, we may be sure that they could not be deceived. If instead of being gainers, they exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, and suffered much by testifying such things, when, if they had held their peace, they might have escaped all ill usage, we have reason to think that they have

not imposed upon us. If the miracles attested by them were wrought to confirm doctrines perfectly agreeable to reason, and which must produce a general good if they were generally received, I see no room left for doubt. But they recommend themselves still further to our assent, if they were wrought neither for ostentation, nor without sufficient occasion, but with a certain frugality and moderation, which shows that the persons who performed them sought not their own glory, nor the applause of the multitude, but proposed to do acts of charity, and relieve persons in distress; and at the same time to confirm the divine mission of men who taught a charitable and an amiable system of religion.

Now if we consider the miracles related by writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, we find none of these characteristics of truth. They are perpetually relating things which they saw not, which they learned from hearsays; and in these relations they agree not one with another. Such was the finding of the cross: a story told with discordant* circumstances, and a miracle easily counterfeited; for how was it possible to know that a scrap of wood, which was showed about, was a piece of the true cross? They who gave away these reliques, and had received them from others, might sincerely believe them to be genuine; but how could they be sure that they were not deceived? Was it not rather a clear case, that the fragments were counterfeits, since, if they had been all put together, they would have made a cross so large, and so heavy, that no one man could have carried it upon his shoulders? It is true, that to remove this obvious difficulty, it was said that the cross was endued with a miraculous vegetation; and though daily cut, yet never was diminished. But who sees not that the bishop of Jerusalem might easily impose upon the people, either by giving them pieces which were not cut off from the cross, or by substituting a new cross, when the old one had been too much chipped and pared? If we should say that the miracles wrought by these bits of wood were fables invented on purpose to enhance their value, or the mere effects

* Tillemont himself is forced to confess thus much, vii. 3.

of a disordered imagination, we should say nothing but what is more probable than the reality of these prodigies.

Besides, as soon as the Christians became the prevailing party, they who related such false miracles had much to gain; and they had nothing to fear if their pious frauds were discovered. Such men were protected and caressed, for the honour of religion, and by way of recompense for their godly intentions. Indeed it was dangerous to attack such frauds, on account of the power and interest of those who were concerned in them. A man was immediately marked for an heretic or an atheist, and exposed to persecution, as we see by the example of Vigilantius, on whom Jerom poured forth a torrent of foul language, of threats and insults, because he had dared to deride the superstitious veneration of reliques.

These wonders were not wrought, properly speaking, to confirm the Christian religion, already established and secured by imperial laws. The miracles recorded in the Scriptures, and the beauty of the Christian doctrine, these things set in a true light, were sufficient to convert and confirm well-disposed persons.

But the ecclesiastics wanted to attract offerings and presents, and to increase the number of their tributaries. The manifest lucre which they drew from these proceedings render all their relations extremely dubious, to say no more.

Besides, the doctrine of those days was no longer that amiable and venerable doctrine, so conformable to good sense, and under the most artless simplicity containing all the moral truths that the best philosophers had propounded, and surpassing by far all their discoveries. Christianity was now embarrassed with intricate disputes, rash decisions, new ceremonies, and awkward practices, much more adapted to destroy than to augment true piety.

Miracles were so profusely exhibited, and so ostentatiously vaunted by persons whom it was not safe to contradict, that it might easily be perceived to be a kind of game, tending to establish the authority of the winners, and to take advantage of the credulity of the populace; and it is hard to conceive that men of sense in those days could pay any regard to them.

If you ask, Whence came it that men of sense did not oppose this farce? The answer is obvious, that it was neither safe nor easy to resist the torrent; and that we have not exact accounts of all that passed then in the Christian world. However, we see by some passages in Sulpitius Severus, that he was accused of having inserted a multitude of *marvellous lies* in his Life of Martin. He defends himself by continuing to act the same part; and by expressing much indignation against those who thus strove to make his work contemptible, and consequently useless. To this we may add, that men of probity in other respects, and fully persuaded of the truth of Christianity (and such I take Martin, Paulinus, and Sulpitius to have been), having found in the populace a strong taste for the marvellous, and no capacity to receive better proofs, judged it expedient rather to leave them to their prejudices, and to make use of those prejudices to confirm them in the true faith, than to undertake the vain task of curing them of their superstition, and run the risk of plunging them into vice and unbelief: Therefore they humoured the trick, and complied with the fashion, for the good of those who were thus deceived. Examples of the same kind may be seen at this day; and are so common, that it is needless to insist upon them.

This seems to be the only way to bring off with some credit the character of the antients, and particularly of Martin and Sulpitius, who have led me to make these remarks. No person can be more firmly persuaded than I am of the truth of Christianity, and of the miracles by which it was established.

But in our days it is necessary to propound more clearly the true evidences of Christianity, and to reject the false ones; not only because we may do it without endangering those whom we instruct, but because of the pernicious effects which the method used by these fathers hath produced, contrary to their intention, which seems to have been well meant. By the help of these false miracles a thousand false doctrines and mischievous superstitions have been introduced, to the disgrace of Christianity, and to the support of libertines, who reject false and true miracles all together, because they see both defended with the same zeal by certain persons in certain places. Thus some fall

into a blind and stupid credulity, as well disposed to receive Mahometism as Christianity; and others doubt of every thing. To remedy these evils, we must carefully distinguish a well-grounded assent from a boundless facility of admitting every idle tale. If there be amongst us persons who plead for this kind of implicit faith, and if they seem to be sincere, we must pity and forgive them, but not imitate them. If they act by interested views, which too often is plainly the case, we should strenuously oppose them, and run the risk of incurring insults and censures, more hurtful in reality to those who utter them than to those at whom they are levelled.

I know there are persons so stubborn and wrong-headed, as to maintain that even Pagan priests were men of veracity, and that their miracles and their oracles were not forged; lest, say they, after we have exposed those Pagans as cheats, we should proceed to treat the fathers in the same manner. These men do more disservice to religion than they are aware of; but we must not do the same, either through complaisance to them, or for fear of their calumnies.*

Sulpitius Severus, says Gennadius, suffered himself in his old age to be seduced by the Pelagians; and said something or other in favour of those heretics, or of their doctrine. But discovering his error, he condemned himself, by way of penance, to a perpetual silence: he never spake a word more. An odd resolution, considering that he was a presbyter, whose office it was to instruct the people! However, we are not obliged to believe Gennadius.

‘We should be still more assured, says Tillemont^z, that the church hath ever revered the memory of Sulpitius, if we could be certain that he is the person of whom St. Gregory of Tours relates two miracles; one, that he caused a tree to die and to revive again by his prayers; the other, that a lily, which sprang up on his grave, used to blow annually on the day of his death.’

To confirm the story of the lily, we may observe that Sulpitius had the same fate with Hyacinthus in Ovid; and certainly Ovid is a writer of as good authority in such things as Gregory of Tours.

* Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. xx. 325.

^z xii. 608.

‘Te quoque, Amyclide, posuisset in æthere Phœbus,
Tristia si spatium ponendi fata dedissent.
Qua licet, æternus tamen es : quotiesque repellit
Ver hiemem, Piscique Aries succedit æquoso,
Tu toties oreris, viridique in cespite flores.’

Concerning the pious fables of Sulpitius about the place whence Christ ascended, see Basnage^b and Le Clerc^c. The miracle of the impression on the pavement is borrowed perhaps from the print made by the horse-hoofs of Castor and Pollux, in one place; and by the feet of Hercules, in another place. Middleton, in his Letter from Rome, observes, that in several parts of Italy they show the marks of hands and feet on rocks and stones, miraculously imprinted by some saint or angel. There is also just the same miracle^d extant, concerning the footsteps of a god worshipped by the people of Siam; and of another deity adored at Ceylon. Matthew Paris says, that the Dominicans, in the eleventh century, brought from Palæstine a white stone, on which were the marks of Christ’s feet^e.

Sulpitius placed the pictures of Martin and of Paulinus in a church, over the font; and Paulinus sent him these verses to be put under, which are pretty enough :

‘Abluitis quicumque animas et membra lavacris,
Cernite propositas ad bona facta vias.
Adstat perfectæ Martinus regula vitæ,
Paulinus veniam quo mercare docet.
Hunc, peccatores; illum spectate, beati :
Exemplar sanctis ille sit, iste reis.’

Innocentius the First, commonly called St. Innocent, was pope of Rome. See Du Pin’s account of him, from which it appears that he was an usurping domineering prelate, who encroached upon the rights of bishops and presbyters, and wanted to make the Christian world submit to his insolence. He began a persecution against the Novatians. In his time Alaric sacked Rome;—Rome Christian, which in

^a Met. x. 162.

^b i. 420.

^c Bibl. A. et M. xvi. 126.

^d Act. Erud. A. 1689. p. 481. Journal to Mount Sinai, published by bishop Clayton, p. 20. Bibl. Univ. xiv. 457. xxiii. 223.

^e Mosheim, p. 386.

those days too much imitated Rome Pagan, in superstition, in persecution, and in a depravity of manners. Innocentius was used by those barbarians as he had used the Novatians, and saw his episcopal see ruined^f.

Celestinus, who was bishop of Rome some years afterwards, continued the persecution.

‘He also took away from the Novatians the churches which they had at Rome, and compelled their bishop Rusticula to assemble secretly with his flock in a private house. For till this time the Novatians had greatly flourished at Rome, where they had many churches and numerous congregations. But jealousy and envy ruined them also, whilst the Roman, like the Alexandrian prelates, not keeping within the sacerdotal bounds, had been long corrupted, and aimed at a tyrannical dominion. For these causes the Roman bishops would not grant the liberty of assembling publicly even to those who agreed with them in points of faith : and commending them for their orthodox sentiments, stripped them at the same time of their possessions. But the bishops of Constantinople were more moderate, and went not into these excesses,’ &c.^g

The decretals of pope Innocent are full of episcopal encroachments^h.

A. 404. Arsacius, being fourscore years old, was made bishop of Constantinople, in the room of Chrysostom, who was then deposed and banished. The Greeks call him *saint* in their *Menæa*. But Tillemont most peremptorily pronounces upon him a sentence of damnation for having accepted that station, and will not allow him even the benefit of purgatory.

At the same time Porphyrius was created bishop of Antioch. He is represented by Palladius and others as a persecutor and a very wicked manⁱ.

A. 406. Vigilantius^k was insulted and reviled by Jerom as an enemy to holy reliques, and to other superstitious

^f Socrates, vii. 9.

^g Ibid. vii. 11.

^h Fleury, v. 456.

ⁱ Tillemont, xi. 309. Basnage, iii. 208. Theodorus Byzant. p. 235. et not. Fleury, v. 236.

^k Remarks on Eccl. Hist. ii. 81.

and senseless practices. It is really a wonder that he fared no worse, and that some zealous monk did not beat his brains out with the jaw-bone of a martyr.

‘It appears not, says Fleury, that the heresy of Vigilantius gained ground, and that there was occasion for any council to condemn it; so contrary was it to the tradition of the universal church.’

It is true enough. His heresy slept till the reformation awakened it; and since that time, all Protestants, all such, I mean, as have not renounced common sense, are of the same opinion about these things with Vigilantius.

‘A certain Jew had been confined to his bed many years by the palsy. Having received no relief from the prescriptions of physicians, or from the prayers of the Jews, he determined to have recourse to Christian baptism, hoping that Jesus would be the best physician. This was immediately told to Atticus, the bishop of Constantinople. He therefore, having instructed the Jew in the rudiments of the Christian religion, and exhorted him to faith in Christ, ordered him to be brought in his bed to the font, and gave him baptism; whereupon he instantly recovered the use of his limbs, and remained perfectly sound. Thus did Christ deign to show forth his power by a miraculous cure, even in our days, which converted many of the Pagans. But the Jews, though they require signs and wonders, were not converted by this wonder.’

Thus saith Socrates¹; and this seems to be one of the more probable miracles of those times which stand upon record. There is nothing in it fantastical, absurd, and unreasonable, either in fact, or the manner, or the tendency. Add to this, that Atticus, by whose ministry it is said to have been wrought, hath a fair character, as a good prelate, an enemy to persecution, and remarkable for charity, liberality, and moderation, as Sozomen informs us. But, on the other hand, when we consider the genius of the fifth century, and of its writers, it is impossible not to hesitate.

¹ vii. 4.

It may also perhaps deserve some consideration, whether the bathing, and the force of imagination joined together, might not by a natural operation remove some kind of paralytic disorders.

‘Atticus was a man who excelled in erudition, piety, and prudence; on which account the heretics stood in awe of him.—He sometimes at first terrified them, but had no design to distress them, and afterwards was ever mild and gentle towards them.’

‘Finding a schism in his church, and separate conventicles held by those who revered the memory of Chrysostom, he caused his name to be inserted and commemorated in the public prayers, as a method to bring them back to his communion.

‘He was so liberal, that he not only provided for the poor of his own churches, but sent large sums to the neighbouring cities for the same charitable uses. He did so to Calliopius, a presbyter of the Nicene church, and wrote thus to him :

‘I am informed that there are in your town six hundred persons oppressed with want; and having received a sum of money from him who is wont to give liberally to faithful stewards, I send you, my dear friend, six hundred pieces of gold, to distribute as you think fit. And you will think fit, I presume, to relieve those who are ashamed to beg, and not those who have always made a trade of begging to gratify their laziness and their gluttony. I desire moreover, that in the distribution of these alms, you would pay no regard to differences of opinion, but relieve those who are ready to perish, whether they be or be not of our religion^m.’

Socrates adds, that Atticus foretold the time of his own death.

Atticus discoursing with Asclepiades, the bishop of the Novatians, told him, that they were too rigid in their ecclesiastical discipline. Asclepiades replied :

Besides the crime of sacrificing to idols, there are many other *sins unto death*, as the Scriptures speak; for which

^m Socrates, vii. 2. 25. and the notes.

you yourselves exclude the clergy, and we the laity also from communion ; leaving to God alone the power of forgiving them^a.

Upon which Beverege observes ;

‘ Although therefore the Novatians excluded such sinners from ecclesiastical communion, yet they acknowledged that God, if they repented, might grant them forgiveness ; for which reason they frequently exhorted them to repentance, as we learn from St. Ambrose. So it was not God, but the Christian church, from which they took away the authority of pardoning sins, and receiving sinners again ; and for this they themselves were justly condemned by the Catholic church, as persons who deprived the priests of the power of the keys.

The Christian *priests*, says Beverege, have the power of the keys, and can forgive sins. One would rather think that the *ministers* of the Gospel have power to declare that God pardoneth and absolveth those who are truly penitent, and that all human absolutions are conditional.

‘ I will give thee the keys^o, says Christ to Peter ; upon which words Jerom makes this remark ;

‘ Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Phariseorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur ; cum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quærat^{ur}.’

Yet I have no intention to justify those Puritans, the Novatians, who were too rigid, and the authors of an unreasonable and perverse separation.

A. 408. Theodosius Junior succeeded his father Arcadius. Socrates^p and other historians bestow great commendations upon him, and upon his wife Athenais, or Eudoxia, and his sister Pulcheria. He was in some respects an amiable prince, and had good qualities. But he was excessively credulous and superstitious, and governed by those about him. A certain bishop dying in odour of sanctity, Theodosius begged his old coat, and used to wrap himself up in it, in hopes of getting some virtue out of

^a Socrates, vii. 25.

^o Matt. xvi. 19.

^p vii. 368.

it. As if piety, like the itch, could be caught by wearing another man's clothes.

An impudent monk came one day to him to ask some favour; and being disappointed, he excommunicated the emperor, and went his way. The scrupulous prince would neither eat nor drink till the monk, being long sought for, was found at last, and prevailed upon to release the emperor from the curse which he had laid upon him. The story is related at large by Theodoret^a; upon which Valesius remarks;

‘This account is observable for many reasons. It strongly confirms that known rule of the canon-law, which says that excommunication, although unjustly inflicted, is to be dreaded. For here we see that the emperor, though excommunicated without cause, did not slight the sentence. We further learn that the power of *loosing* belongs only to the person who had the power of *binding*. The emperor therefore, being bound by an ecclesiastic of an inferior order, did not rest satisfied with the absolution which his own bishop gave him, but wanted to be acquitted by the person who had condemned him. And for this Theodoret commends him as a religious observer of the divine laws. He says not that this monk was a presbyter; yet I make no question but he was, else he would not have usurped the sacerdotal office of binding and loosing. Therefore also the emperor desired the bishop to lay his commands upon the man, as being one of his own clergy, to undo what he had done. Whether a simple presbyter hath or hath not the power of excommunicating, I leave to be discussed by others; but from this narrative I should imagine that he hath it not, unless he be appointed to do it by his bishop.’

That a sentence of excommunication, though unjustly pronounced, hath a dangerous effect upon the *soul* of him who lies under it, is a doctrine of the canon-law, which no wise man will admit: that it hath a dangerous effect upon his *worldly* condition, no man will deny.

Theodosius mitigated the penal laws against the Pagans, and, instead of condemning them to death for sacrificing,

^a v. 37.

only reduced them to beggary, and sent them into banishment.

‘*Paganos qui supersunt, si quando in execrandis demonum sacrificiis fuerint comprehensi, quamvis capitali poena subdi debuerint, bonorum proscriptione et exsilio coërceri jubemus.*’

He used to subscribe acts and petitions without ever reading them: upon which it is said that his sister Pulcheria, to cure him of this lazy and careless trick, made him sign a deed, by which he sold his wife for a slave, and made her over to his sister.

Pulcheria took upon her the administration of affairs, and the education of her young brother, when she herself was only fifteen years of age. Ecclesiastical historians give her a most extraordinary character, and represent her as learned, prudent, judicious, ingenious, affable, virtuous, and pious. In her youth she made a vow of perpetual virginity, and she was a great friend to ecclesiastics. As a recompence of her piety, says Sozomen, and a proof that she was highly favoured of Heaven, the reliques of the *forty martyrs* were discovered to her. We have the story from Sozomen, who was an eyewitness.

‘Pulcheria,’ says he, ‘the sister of the emperor, was the finder. The holy Thyrsus appeared thrice to her, told her where the martyrs lay buried, and ordered that they should be removed, and deposited near him, that they might partake of the same honours with himself. Also the forty martyrs showed themselves to her at the same time, arrayed in white robes. When therefore they came to the appointed place, the princess ordered that the ground should be broken up.—Then one of the emperor’s retinue thrust down a reed, which he had in his hand, into the hole; and drawing it up, and smelling to it, found that it had a most exquisite odour. Upon this, the princess and the bishop approached, and found a large quantity of ointment, and two silver boxes, wherein were inclosed the reliques of the martyrs. The princess then returned thanks to God for such a signal favour vouchsafed to her; and, having honoured the martyrs with a magnificent shrine, deposited them

near the reliques of Thyrsus. Upon which occasion there was celebrated a solemn procession, at which I also was present^s.

If Sozomen, who it seems attended at the show, had been let into the secret, he might have informed us how the godly knavery was conducted. I would willingly acquit the pious young princess from having had any hand in the fraud, and transfer it upon her spiritual directors.

In those blessed days of visions and revelations, the body of the prophet Zachariah was also found. The prophet appeared in Palæstine to a man who was a farmer and a *rascal*, as Sozomen^t himself informs us, and told him the place where he was buried.

Dig here, said he, and you will find a double coffin, and near it a vessel of glass, full of water; also two snakes of a middling size, quite tame and harmless. When the coffin was opened, the divine prophet was seen, clothed in white. Beneath his feet lay an infant, honoured with a royal funeral; for he had a golden crown on his head, and golden shoes, and a magnificent robe. Now the prophet, though he had been buried so long, was entire, close shaven on the head, with a straight nose, a beard of a moderate length, a short head, eyes somewhat hollow, and covered with the eyebrows.

Sozomen's history breaks off here abruptly: for he should have proceeded to another famous romance of the reliques of St. Stephen, which were discovered at that time.

Zachariah had been dead about twelve hundred years; and yet his body was entire, and preserved as a blessing for the fifth century.

The two tame snakes, which were in his grave, were copied from Virgil^u, where when Æneas had made his offerings and his prayers at the tomb of Anchises,

‘—adytis—lubricus anguis ab imis
Septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit,
Amplexus placide tumulum, lapsusque per aras.—
Obstupuit visu Æneas. Ille agmine longo
Tandem inter pateras, et levia pocula serpens,
Libavitque dapes, rursusque innoxius imo

^s ix. 2.

^t Χαλεπός, καὶ δύσκολος, καὶ ἄδικος, ix. 17.

^u Æn. v.

Successit tumulo, et depasta altaria liquit.
 Hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,
 Incertus, Geniumne loci, famulumne parentis
 Esse putet.'

So these two snakes were either *genii*, and gods of a lower class, or *attendants* upon the *prophet* and the *young prince*.

'Pinge duos angues: pueri, sacer est locus; extra
 Me jite*.'

Thus we are come to Pagan Christianity, or to Christian Paganism, and to legends favouring not only relique-worship, but serpent-worship.

'O seculum insipiens, et inficetum!'

One would think, if there were not full proofs of the contrary, that these stories were made by the Pagans, to ridicule the Christian religion.

The reliques of Samuel had also been found, A. 406, and removed from Judæa to Constantinople by Arcadius, who is highly commended for this pious action by Jerom^v.

A. 408. The Virgin Mary now began to appear to many persons, and to work continual miracles in favour of the Consubstantialists. Gregory Nazianzen had assembled them, being at that time few in number, in a small conventicle at Constantinople.

'This church afterwards became one of the principal churches of the city, and is so now, not only on account of the spaciousness and elegance of the structure, but because of the salutary manifestations of the divine presence, which being afforded to many persons, both waking and sleeping, hath removed their diseases and their calamities. They are thought to be the appearances of the holy Virgin Mary, mother of God. This church is called Anastasia; in my opinion, because the doctrine of the Nicene council, having been long oppressed, and as it were destroyed by the prevailing power of the heretics, arose again and revived by the preaching of Gregory; or because, as others confidently affirm, a woman big with child fell from the highest

* Persius, i. 113. where see Casaubon.

^v Epist. 33.

portico, in the time of divine service, and instantly expired; but the whole congregation earnestly praying over her, she as instantly revived, and the child in her womb^z.

Silvanus, bishop of Troas, drew a large ship, which the united force of a multitude could not move, because it was stopped by the devil^a.

This miracle was borrowed from the known story of the Roman matron Claudia, who did the same long before Silvanus was born.

A. 409. Honorius made a merciful law, that prisoners and criminals should be taken out of jail every Sunday, and permitted to use the bath, and be conducted to the judges, who should inquire of them how they fared, and how they were treated, and see that they wanted nothing necessary^b.

A. 410. 'Honorius, misled by evil counsellors, had in some measure abrogated the laws that he had made against Pagans and heretics; and had permitted to all persons a liberty of conscience in choosing and exercising their religion. But in a law enacted this year, he revokes this liberty, and forbids heretics to hold public religious assemblies, under pain of proscription, and even of death^c.'

Thus you see that all attempts towards religious toleration were always opposed and suppressed.

A. 410. 'Synesius, a Platonic philosopher of Cyrene, was ordained bishop of Ptolemais, by Theophilus of Alexandria. As soon as Synesius had heard that the people of Ptolemais had chosen him, he wrote to his brother Euoptius, and gave him the reasons for which he declined this honour. He mentions several, the principal of which were, that he would neither put away his wife, nor keep her clandestinely, like an adulterer; that he was a Platonist, and could not receive some doctrines of Christianity. He believed the pre-existence of souls, the eternity of the world, and a resurrection after the Platonic manner, but not in the way that Christians understood it. He calls God and men to witness that these were his real sentiments, and that

^z Sozomen, vii. 5.

^a Socrates, vii. 37.

^b Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. iii. p. 40.

^c Tillemont, H. des Emp. v. 574. H. E. xiii. 497.

he had never disguised them. Yet as he was a most agreeable orator, and a man of weight in the province, and as Christians wanted such persons, Theophilus overlooked all these objections, and ordained him, hoping that Synesius would grow orthodox in process of time, as they say he did. Pagi excuses Theophilus, on account of the calamitous times, and the necessity of procuring men of learning and abilities, without looking too nicely into their opinions. Baronius will needs have it that Synesius dissembled and accused himself falsely, purely to shun the episcopal office. But, as Holstenius hath well observed, the contrary is extremely evident, and Synesius was very much in earnest. The Christians, as Holstenius remarks, endeavoured to draw over those Pagans who were eminent in erudition, and connived at their singularities; and there was no place where such toleration was more needful than Alexandria, where there had long been a resort of learned men, and particularly of Platonists. Therefore the catechists of that church, as Pantænus, Clemens, Origen, Dionysius, Ammonius, had applied themselves closely to philosophical studies, with a view to gain the Pagans. The doctrines of Origen had still many secret abettors there; and Theophilus himself, who had condemned Origen, used to read his works continually, as Socrates informs us. No wonder therefore that Synesius was received to baptism, such as he was, since the monasteries of Ægypt abounded with monks who had the same sentiments.

Theophilus only used the accusation of Origenism as a pretext to condemn certain men whom he hated; and when he had carried his point and ruined them, he troubled himself no further about the doctrines. Else he would not have tolerated in Synesius what he condemned in others^d.

The character of Synesius is of a mixed and ambiguous kind. His learning and vivacity are unquestionable; but for the rest, it would be easy to draw up two accounts; the one in his defence, the other to his disadvantage. Beausobre^e is much inclined to favour him; and Tillemont^f hath given us an entertaining account of him.

^d Le Clerc Bibl. Choix. viii. 309.

^e Hist. de Manich. ii. 565.

^f xii. 499. Basnage, iii. 239. Fleury, v. 360.

It is a blot upon his reputation that he, who was heterodox in some points, was an enemy of the Arians and Eunomians, and set the rabble against them in his diocese. He pretended to be orthodox with relation to the doctrine of the Trinity; and yet his notions on this article were a complete jargon, and a wild fanatical jumble of extravagant errors^s.

Synesius had a friend, Evagrius, a philosopher of Cyrene, and an obstinate Pagan; and took great pains for a long time, to no purpose, to convert him. Evagrius objected two things in particular to Christianity; one was the doctrine of the resurrection of the body; the other was the notion that he who giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord, who will repay him.

Synesius, however, satisfied him at last on these points, and brought him over to Christianity; and then Evagrius put into his hands three hundred crowns of gold, to be distributed to the poor, and said to him: Give me a promissory note under your hand that Jesus Christ will pay me again. The bishop did so; and the philosopher, some years after, lying on his death-bed, ordered his children to put the note into his hand when he was dead, and to bury it with him: which was performed. Three nights after he appeared in a dream to Synesius, and said, Come to my grave, and take back your note: there is nothing due to me; I have received all; and to convince you of it, I have written a discharge with my own hand, under the note. The bishop, who had known nothing of the affair, sent for the children of his friend, and asked them whether they had put any thing into their father's grave along with him. They, supposing that he might mean money, said, No. Did you not put in a paper? said he. Yes, they replied: our father gave us a paper, and ordered us to put it into his hand, without letting any person know of it. Then Synesius told them his dream; and, taking with him several persons, opened the grave, and found the paper, and under the note the following words, written by the man's own hand:

‘Evagrius the philosopher to my lord bishop Synesius, health. I have received all that I was to receive, according

^s Wetstein Proleg. ad N. T. p. 206, 207.

to your promissory note. Here is an acquittance in full for the sum which I committed to you, and gave by your hands to Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour.'

The note was carefully preserved in the church of Cyrene.

This story of the converted philosopher is in the *Pratum Spirituale* of Joannes Moschus. Hence it appears, says Tillemont^h, that Synesius was become a good believer. I think so too; for, if you admit the premises, you must allow the consequence. I think also that this ill-contrived and ridiculous tale was forged, partly to be a voucher for his orthodoxy.

It is reasonable enough to suppose that a Pagan philosopher would not easily admit the resurrection of the body; but the doctrine that acts of beneficence procured the divine favour could not seem incredible to him. Virgil would have told him;

'Dî tibi, si qua pios respectant Numina, si quid
Usquam justitiæ est, et mens sibi conscia recti,
Præmia digna ferent.'

A. 412. Cyril was made bishop, and made himself lord and master of Alexandria. His first exploit was not very apostolical and evangelical.

'From this time the Alexandrian prelates, going beyond their sacerdotal office, began to act like sovereign princes. Cyril therefore immediately shut up all the Novatian churches in Alexandria, took away all their plate and furniture, and all the goods and chattels of their bishop Theopemptusⁱ.'

But a saint and a father of the church will never fail of apologists. Lowth, in his annotations on this passage, says;

'Socrates, ever partial towards the Novatians, makes an odious representation of this affair, insinuating that Cyril acted thus by his own private authority; though, some years before, the conventicles and possessions of heretics had been allotted to the Catholic church,—as Joseph Bingham hath observed.'

I must take the liberty to differ from these two learned

^h xii. 527.

ⁱ Socrates, vii. 7.

men ; and to observe, that this excuse will not justify the behaviour of Cyril.

The Jews of Alexandria, having quarrelled with the Christians, put about a false rumour, one night, that the great church was on fire. The Christians ran from all parts to extinguish it ; and the Jews, who were armed and lay in ambush, killed as many of them as they found in the streets.

For this massacre the rioters deserved to be severely punished by the civil magistrate. But Cyril took this office upon himself, and heading the Christian populace, he plundered the houses of all the Jews, guilty or not guilty, who were very numerous in Alexandria, and drove them all away, stripped and ruined, from the city.

Orestes, the governor, offended at this insolent behaviour, and hating Cyril, because he took upon himself the direction of civil affairs, resolved to oppose and depress him ; and would not hear of a reconciliation, when Cyril attempted it.

But the prelate kept a standing army of dragoons, namely, the Ægyptian monks and Alexandrian ecclesiastics, who were always ready to fight his battles. Five hundred monks came to Alexandria to assist him. These holy men, meeting Orestes in his chariot, first reviled and then assaulted him ; and one of them, called Ammonius, flung a stone, and wounded him in the head, whilst his attendants fled, fearing the volleys of stones, and the fury of the monks. The people at last took courage, and assembled to rescue their governor, and put the monks to flight. Ammonius was seized, and, by the governor's order, put to the rack, and so severely tortured that he expired. Cyril buried him honourably, and ordered him to be worshipped as a martyr.

After these things, Hypatia, a lady much celebrated for virtue, learning, and philosophy, being suspected of favouring Orestes, and of hindering a reconciliation between him and Cyril, was assaulted by the Christian populace, headed by one Peter, a reader in the church, and cruelly murdered. Cyril was strongly suspected of having been an instigator of this iniquity. Du Pin and Lowth endeavour to vindicate him, as to the affair of Hypatia : but though there be not sufficient evidence to condemn him as author

of this murder, yet neither is there room to acquit him. If he were innocent, he should at least have excommunicated those who were concerned in so vile an assassination : but it appears not that he did so. Neither Socrates nor Valesius has dropped one word in his vindication. Philostorgius^k says that Hypatia was murdered by the Consubstantialists ; and Damascius says that it was done by the instigation of Cyril. Synesius, who had been her disciple, extols, and almost adores her.

Cyril had in his service a band of parasites, who used to praise him, and clap him when he preached.

Afterwards, by his cabals, he with his associates demolished and excommunicated Nestorius, in the famous council of Ephesus.

As an author, he stands in no high class. Du Pin's judgment of his performances is pretty nearly thus :

His fund of mystical and allegorical whimsies was inexhaustible ; and his writings overflow with such trash, and are neither fit to convince unbelievers, nor to make believers wiser and better. He was well versed in logic and metaphysics, understood the art of wrangling and quibbling, and was a subtle disputant. His sermons are flat and tiresome to the last degree, and full of puns, and of jingles upon words. His books against Julian are tolerable ; but even there, in style and manner, he is much inferior to the emperor. He had a great facility of composing, and may be called an easy writer, that is, a writer of things which it is easy to commit to paper : for either he transcribes the Scriptures, or heaps remarks together in a slovenly way, or expatiates in the visionary regions of allegory, saying every thing that came uppermost ; and in this way of proceeding a volume is soon compiled^l.

His books against Julian are his principal work ; and they are not the most elegant, ' non admodum elegantes,' says Valesius on Socrates^m.

ⁿ Cyril said that Christians ought to believe, without in-

^k P. 524.

^l See Socrates, vii. Tillemont, xiv. 267. Du Pin, iv. 41. Fleury, v. 360. Barbeyrac, p. 266. S. Basnage, iii. 336. J. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, vi. 1288. Bayle, *Nestorius*.

^m P. 202.

quiring too curiously ; that a man must be a Jew, to insist upon reasons, and to ask HOW, on mysterious subjects ; and that this same HOW would bring him to the gal-lowsⁿ.’

‘ The election of Cyril had been opposed by a large party, which wanted to choose another bishop ; but Cyril, being assisted by the soldiers and their officer, got the better. This victory gave him more authority than even his predecessor Theophilus had enjoyed ; and from this time the prelates of Alexandria went *a little* beyond the bounds of spiritual power, and took a share of the temporal government.’

Thus says Fleury^o, who should rather have said, *not a little*.

From Augustin^p it appears that the bishops of those times, when they exercised acts of judicature, made use of the wholesome discipline of the *whip*, which is not a spiritual but a temporal weapon.

A. 412. Maruthas, a Mesopotamian, and Abdas, a Persian bishop, propagated the Christian religion in Persia. Maruthas, it is said, cured the king of an inveterate headache by his prayers ; and, together with Abdas, expelled a devil out of the king’s son. One can hardly believe that miraculous powers were conferred upon Abdas, who, like an enthusiast, burnt a temple afterwards in Persia, and so by his folly brought a violent persecution upon the Christians^q.

A. 414. A most cruel decree was made by Honorius against the African Donatists. It runs thus :

‘ Donatistas, atque hæreticos, quos patientia clementiæ nostræ nunc usque servavit, competenti constituimus auctoritate percellî, quatenus evidenti præceptione se agnoscant et intestabiles, et nullam potestatem alicujus hæreditatem in-undi habere, sed perpetua inustos infamia, a cœtibus honestis et a conventu publico segregandos. Ea vero loca, in quibus dira superstitio usque nunc servata est, Catholicæ venerabili ecclesiæ socientur : ita ut episcopi, presbyteri, omnes antistites eorum, et ministri, spoliati omnibus facul-

ⁿ Bibl. Univ. vii. 54.

^o v. 366.

^p Epist. 133.

^q Socrâtes, viii. 8. Bayle, *Abdas*.

tatibus, ad singulas quasque insulas atque provincias exsulandi gratiâ dirigantur. Quisquis autem hos fugientes propositam ultionem occultandi causâ suscepit, sciat et patrimonium suum fisci nostri compendiis aggregandum, et se pœnam, quæ his proposita est, subiturum. Damna quoque patrimonii pœnasque pecuniarias evidenter imponimus viris, mulieribus, personis singulis, et dignitatibus pro qualitate sui quæ debeant irrogari. Igitur proconsulari, aut vicariano, vel comitivæ primi ordinis quisque fuerit honore succinctus, nisi ad observantiam Catholicam mentem propositumque convertent, ducentas argenti libras cogetur exsolvere fisci nostri utilitatibus aggregandas. Ac ne id solum putetur ad resecandam intentionem posse sufficere, quoties cumque ad communionem talem accessisse fuerit confutatus, toties mulctam exigatur: et si quinquies constiterit nec damnis ab errore revocari, tunc ad nostram clementiam referatur, ut de solida ejus substantia ac de statu acerbius judicemus, &c.^r

Hereupon these miserable and impetuous fanatics were plunged into despair and fury, and resolved to lay violent hands upon themselves. One of their bishops, called Donatus, attempted many times to kill himself; and another was determined to set fire to his conventicle, and to die in it along with his congregation. Dulcitius, the civil magistrate in Afric, who was a good-natured man, found himself in great distress, and knew not how to act. He was afraid of offending the emperor, by showing any favour to the Donatists; and he was no less afraid of driving these desperate people to self-murder, by putting the law in execution. He therefore consulted Augustin, who advised him by all means to use the utmost rigour, as the best way of converting these schismatics, and of compelling them to come in; since it was better that some of them should burn themselves, than that they should all burn eternally in hell:

‘Proculdubio melius incomparabili numerositate plurimis ab illa pestifera divisione redintegratis atque collectis, quidam suis ignibus pereant, quam pariter universi sempiternis ignibus gehennarum merito sacrilegæ dissentionis ardebunt^s.

^r Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. v. p. 176.

^s Epist. 61. See Basnage, iii. 254. Mosheim, p. 182.

A. 415. Pelagius was called to account for his opinions. I have given a pretty full relation^t of this controversy. I shall only here transcribe the character bestowed upon his antagonist Augustin by Cave :

‘ De omnigena ejus eruditione pluribus agere, idem esset ac lucem soli offundere. Hospes sit oportet tum in ejus, tum in aliorum scriptis, qui nesciat Augustinum in toto meliorum literarum circulo eminere ; in quæstionibus vero theologicis primas tenere^u. ’

What an excessive compliment is here paid to a man who, in reality, had not a sufficient quantity of erudition and of judgment to entitle him to this character, or to any thing like it !

The reliques of St. Stephen were found, together with those of Nicodemus, and those of Gamaliel, and of Abibas, his son. They were found by the help of revelations and visions, and they wrought innumerable miracles. Tillemont^x calls it one of the principal events of the fifth century, and gives a large detail of it, which surely well deserves to be perused ; for, take it altogether, it is perhaps one of the most barefaced and impudent impostures that ever was obruded upon the Christian world. The vouchers for it are Lucian, a presbyter of the church of Jerusalem, who was the happy discoverer of these reliques, Augustin, Sozomen, Orosius, Gregory of Tours, and many more.

‘ Cave is not willing to give the same credence to modern miracles, as to those which were performed, as they say, in the days of Honorius. He seems inclined to allow that a great number of sick persons were cured by the admirable odour which issued from the sepulchre of St. Stephen, when it was first opened, if we may believe Lucian and Photius. But he is much more persuaded of the relation given us by St. Augustin concerning the miracles wrought in a chapel, where some reliques of St. Stephen were repositied. Cave is of opinion that God might perform such miracles at that time, for the conversion of the Pagans, who were still numerous amongst the Christians ; though at present miracles are ceased, because there is not the same occasion for them. The author of the Logic of Port-Royal, speaking of these

^t Six Dissertations, p. 29.

^u i. 192.

^x ii. 9—28.

miracles, affirms that every man of good sense, though he should not have a grain of piety or religion, must needs acknowledge them to be true. But a man may have both good sense and piety too, and yet may rather believe that St. Augustin was mistaken and credulous, or that he judged it expedient to propagate miraculous tales, which he thought calculated to convert the Pagans, without examining them too strictly. It is true indeed, that he relates them with the utmost confidence; and with the same confidence the most notorious impostures are still recommended to our belief every day.^y

Du Pin, speaking of these miracles, says :

‘These relations have in them so little of the probable and the credible, that, if they were not authorised by the testimony of St. Augustin and of Gennadius, we could scarcely believe them.’

Du Pin, I presume, means somewhat more than he says^z.

‘A phial filled with the blood of St. Stephen, brought to Naples by one Gaudioso, an African bishop, used to boil and bubble of itself on the third of August, according to the old calendar. But since Gregory XIII. hath corrected the calendar, the blood doth not boil up till the thirteenth of August, on which the festival of the saint is fixed by the new regulation. A manifest proof that the Gregorian calendar is received in heaven, though some heretical countries upon earth refused to follow it^a.’

A. 417. ‘Anastasius observes that, this year, Easter was kept on a wrong day at Rome, namely, on the twenty-fifth of March, when it ought to have been on the twenty-second of April, on which it was celebrated at Constantinople. He adds that God showed who were in an error, at a certain village where the fonts, which used to be miraculously filled at Easter, were not found full of water till the twenty-second of April. Baronius produceth many examples of such miraculous fonts^b.’

^y Bibl. Univ. vi. 14.

^z See S. Basnage, iii. 268. J. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, l. vi. c. xv. p. 1292. Middleton, Free Inq. p. 115. Fleury, v. 431.

^a Bibl. Univ. vi. 13.

^b Tillemont, x. 679. Fleury, v. 462.

A. 421. The league between the Romans and the Persians was broken, and a war ensued. One cause of it was, that the Persian king cruelly persecuted the Christians in his dominions, and sent to demand those of them who had fled for refuge to the Romans. The Romans refused to surrender them, and chose rather to enter into a war, and to run all hazards; and for this behaviour they deserved commendation. The war was terminated altogether to their advantage; and the Persians received a signal overthrow. Whilst the emperor Theodosius and all the people were in great anxiety about the event, angels appeared to some travellers, and bade them go and assure the inhabitants of Constantinople of a victory. This, saith Socrates, animated both the soldiers and the people. He takes it to have been a real miracle; but it looks more like a pious stratagem of some Christians, and an imitation of the apparition of Castor and Pollux upon a like occasion. The Romans however had reason to ascribe this victory to the good providence of God, considering the justice of their cause, their great success, the detestable cruelty of the Persians, and the heavy loss which that nation suffered of their best troops. After this, it is said that the persecution ceased, or 'was much abated, in Persia.

The Roman soldiers had taken captives seven thousand Persians, who were perishing with hunger and misery. The Persian king earnestly entreated to have them sent back; but the soldiers would not comply with his request. Upon this Acacius, bishop of Amida in Mesopotamia, performed a most glorious action, to which no victory is to be compared. With the consent of his clergy, he sold all the plate belonging to the church, bought all the prisoners of the Roman soldiers, maintained them for some time till they were in a condition to travel, and sent them home, furnished with all necessaries, to the Persian king, who was astonished at the charity and generosity of Acacius, and sent him an invitation to his court, desiring earnestly that he might have the pleasure of beholding a man to whom he was so much obliged. Acacius obtained leave from Theodosius to go and pay the king a visit^c.

^c Socrates, vii. 18.

A. 423. Upon the death of Honorius, John, a considerable person in the palace, usurped the empire. He made some laws disagreeable to the clergy, and ordered that they should be subject to the jurisdiction of secular courts. Perhaps he did this to oblige the laity: but it was an impolitic action; for the ecclesiastics in those days were too powerful to bear even the shadow of an insult. Valentinian III. rescinded these decrees of the usurper.

‘*Privilegia ecclesiarum omnium, quæ sæculo nostro tyrannus inviderat, prona devotione revocamus.—Clericos etiam, quos indiscretim ad sæculares judices debere deduci infaustus præsumptor edixerat, episcopali audientię reservamus. Fas enim non est, ut divini muneris ministri temporalium potestatum subdantur arbitrio*^d.’

Hence some have concluded that John was not a Catholic but an Arian. However that be, his defeat is represented to us as miraculous; and a dirty shepherd, who was guide to his enemies, is transformed into an angel.

‘An angel of God, under the appearance of a shepherd, conducted Aspar and his soldiers, and led them through a lake adjoining to Ravenna, which till then had been unpassable. They going over it, as over firm ground, and coming up to the gates of the city, seized upon the tyrant^e.’

Philostorgius, in his relation of this transaction, deals less in the marvellous than Socrates, and says;

‘Aspar coming suddenly, with some cavalry, after a slight engagement, took John prisoner, who was betrayed by his own people, and sent him to Aquileia, to Placidia and Valentinian. There, his right hand being first cut off, he was beheaded, after an usurpation which had lasted a year and a half.’

Procopius gives him a good character, and says;

‘John was mild, prudent, and courageous. Although he had usurped the empire, he governed it with much moderation. He never gave ear to delators, and never deprived any man of life or fortunes in an illegal way, or for the sake of gain^f.’

A. 427. Sisinnius, bishop of Constantinople, who died

^d Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. ii. p. 94. et Gothofred.

^e Socrates, vii. 23.

^f Bell. Vandal. i. 3.

this year, was a man renowned for temperance, piety, and benevolence to the poor ; simple and affable in his manners, and avoiding much business and public affairs. For which reason he was very unacceptable to active men, and accounted no better than a tame sluggard^s.

About this time the famous Symeon Stylites is said to have mounted on a pillar, and to have continued in that sublime situation for thirty-seven years.

A. 428. Nestorius was made bishop of Constantinople. In his first sermon before the emperor, he declared openly his intention to wage war with all the heterodox, and promised the emperor success upon earth, and a genteel place in the kingdom of heaven, if he would join with him in extirpating heretics. Even the orthodox were scandalized at this vanity and violence, which presently flamed out in suitable effects ; for five days after he attempted to demolish the church of the Arians, and acted with such fury, that they themselves, out of rage and despair, set fire to it, and burnt it down, together with other buildings in the neighbourhood. Then he proceeded to plague the Novatians ; but the emperor put some stop to it. Then he persecuted the Quartadecimans in Lydia, Caria, and other places ; and some murders were committed on this occasion. He also oppressed the Macedonians, and took their churches from them ; nor did he spare the Pelagians ; and, to conclude, he persuaded the emperor to make laws against all heretics. He led a sober and austere life ; and, in short, he would have passed for a saint of the first magnitude, as Du Pin observes, if he had not fallen into a notion which was condemned as heretical. It is true, he seems to have had all the qualifications requisite for a fifth-century-saint, except the gift of miracles. The poor man soon had an opportunity of learning the iniquity of persecution by woeful experience, and became himself a memorable example of the cruelty of the orthodox prelates instigated by Cyril.

When he had been hastily condemned and deposed in a tumultuous manner by the council of Ephesus, John of Antioch arrived at Ephesus ; and taking it as a heinous offence and affront that Cyril and his crew had not stayed for

^s Socrates, vii. 28.

his coming, he instantly called a synod, and excommunicated Cyril for his impudence, and Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, and anathematized all those who would not anathematize the anathematisms of Cyril.

The emperor Theodosius II. was a mere tool in the hands of ecclesiastics and of courtiers; and Cyril had procured his favour by bribing one of his eunuchs, if we may believe Acacius, bishop of Berœa.

For three years together the quarrel lasted between Cyril and John, who was not one jot better than Cyril. At last, by the interposition and the absolute command of the emperor, John and Cyril were reconciled, and agreed together to sacrifice Nestorius, and to confirm the decrees of the council of Ephesus.

Basnage^h, though mightily inclined to favour the fathers and the synods of those times, yet, compelled by stubborn truth and plain facts, hath given us a tolerably fair account of the irregularities and the dishonesty of the council of Ephesus.

Nestorius was deposed, and confined in a monastery: but his implacable enemies would not let him rest there. They persuaded the emperor to banish him to Oasis in Libya, a barren miserable spot, surrounded with sandy deserts.

It appears from the writings of Nestorius in his banishment, that the Roman governor, whosoever he was, sent him about from place to place, when he was aged, infirm, and sick, on purpose to break his heart and his constitution. The project answered expectation, and the old man died of grief and of cruel usage. But the malice of his enemies died not with him: they put about a story, adopted by Evagrius, that his body corrupted, and his tongue rotted and was eaten of worms, as a divine judgment on him for his blasphemies. The learned Petavius (but he was a furious bigot) was not ashamed to take up this stupid rumour, and give it a place in his bookⁱ.

Evagrius hath written a most unfair account of the Nestorian and Eutychian quarrels, crying up Cyril and his associates as saints, and representing Nestorius as the vilest

^h iii. 324, &c. See also Le Clerc, *Bibl. A. et M.* xxiii. 237. xxiv. l. et 237. Mosheim, p. 220. *Six Dissertations.*

ⁱ *Ration. Temp.* i. 314.

of blasphemers, and worse than Judas Iscariot; and then makes the following digression concerning the variety of theological sentiments amongst Christians :

‘Let not the Gentiles deride us, because our later prelates vary from their predecessors, and are always adding something new to our faith. For we, searching the mysterious and incomprehensible goodness of God towards men, and endeavouring to honour and extol it as much as we possibly can, follow some this, and some that opinion. Not one of those who have started heresies amongst Christians, and have fallen into errors, had any design of favouring impiety, and insulting the divine Majesty; but, in reality, each of these persons thought that he expressed himself better than those who had been before him. And as to the principal and fundamental parts of faith, we are all of one accord^k,’ &c.

Out of thy own mouth shalt thou be judged; for, if Christians may err *bonâ fide*, and with the most upright intentions, and if this were generally the case of heretics, the consequence is very clear, that Christians ought not to treat one another as dogs, devils, and Iscariots, for mere mistakes in opinion, nor invent and enlarge unscriptural and metaphysical confessions of faith, on purpose to distress and exclude such persons, nor pass a sentence of anathematism and damnation upon them.

‘Some of these fathers could not write their own name, and in the councils they were obliged to employ others to do it for them. This in all probability was very common, since they made no scruple to own a thing which ought to have covered them with shame.

Clarkson, on the Liturgy, hath produced many examples taken from the acts of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, where subscriptions are to be found in this form; ‘I, such an one, have subscribed by the hand of such an one, because I cannot write.’ And, ‘Such a bishop having said that he could not write, I, whose name is underwritten, have subscribed for him^l.’

In behalf of the Ephesian council, a miracle was seasonably trumped up, and one St. Dalmatius, a monk, had a voice from heaven, ordering him to go and present himself

^k i. 11.

^l Bibl. Univ. xvi. 159.

before the emperor Theodosius, in favour of Cyril and of the council ^m.

‘ Thus, thanks to the purse of St. Cyril, the Roman church, which holds the infallibility of general councils, is preserved from a heresy. For, if this prelate had been more covetous and less spiteful and malicious, Nestorianism would have been established, and the Virgin Mary would not have been called *mother of God* ⁿ.’

In the Nestorian controversy, the contending parties seem to have been all of one opinion, as to the doctrine of the Trinity, in opposition to the Arians, and to have held the consubstantiality, coeternity, and natural coequality of the three divine *Persons* or *Hypostases*.

According to them, Christ was compounded of the Λόγος, the second person of the Trinity, and was God, and consequently an intelligent agent; of a human soul, which also must be an intelligent agent; and of a human body.

Hence many questions arose, which gave rise to as many controversies. For example, it was debated, Whether the two natures in Christ were so united as to become one; or whether they remained distinct? Whether, since Christ was born, and died, and rose again, it could be said that God was born, and died, and rose again?

Whether the Virgin Mary, who was the mother of Christ, could be called the mother of God?

Whether Christ were two persons, or only one?

Whether Christ was every where present, in his human, as in his divine nature?

Whether one person of the Trinity could be said to suffer for us?

Whether the whole Trinity could be said to suffer for us?

Whether in Christ there were three substances, or only two°?

These questions produced altercation and strife, and then anathematisms, and then fightings and murders.

‘ The opposite heresies of Nestorius and of Eutyches caused

^m Fleury, vi. 143.

ⁿ Bibl. Univ. xxi. 27.

° See Fleury, ix. 78.

great disorders, through the spirit of contention which possessed the divines of those days. If we compare with attention and without prejudice the sentiments of these two men, and accurately examine their expressions, we shall find that at the bottom they were of the same opinion, but that the heat of disputing had so perplexed and confounded them, that they thought themselves to be of different sentiments, because they made use of different expressions. To show that this was the case, they should be examined apart; and from their own concessions it would have appeared that they were in reality of the same mind. Nestorius should have been asked whether he thought there was such a difference between the natures of Jesus Christ, that it was impossible they should constitute one Christ, and whether he imagined that there was one Christ who was God, and another Christ who was man. He would have replied, No; for that these two natures were so intimately united, that they constituted one single Messias, and one Redeemer; though no man could form to himself a clear and distinct idea of that union; and that the divine nature remained such as it was before, as the Humanity remained humanity, after its union with the Divinity.

‘Conformably to this, he said that of the two natures the Divinity only was eternal, and that one could not say that it had been conceived in the Virgin Mary, or born of her, properly speaking, although Jesus Christ was born and died, and rose again, with relation to his humanity.

‘Eutyches could not deny this; but then he pretended that the two natures were so intimately united, that one might say, God was born of the Virgin, and died, and rose again. This was speaking very improperly, and without any necessity, since these phrases are not to be found in the Scriptures.

‘We may see the expressions used by Nestorius and by Eutyches, in the *Dagmata Theologica* of Petavius, who hath carefully collected them; and who, for the honour of the council of Ephesus [and of Constantinople], was obliged to censure both these men with much asperity, that he might find more difference between them and the orthodox than there really was. If we reflect seriously on these furious con-

tentions, we shall see that the Christians of those times had a much stronger desire to dispute and quarrel, than to discover truth. Cyril of Alexandria hath so explained himself on the union of the two natures, as to suppose it right to say that *God* was born of a virgin, whom he called Θετόκος, *mother of God*, and that he died on the cross. But, properly speaking, the Divinity cannot be born or die: it is the Humanity, to which the former was united, that was born and died. They who have read Cyril, the sworn enemy of Nestorius, know that he hath exaggerated things, and confounded together expressions which he ought to have distinguished. The zeal of Petavius drove him into the same excess. How much better would it have been to have adhered to the expressions which are found in Scripture, without introducing new terms^p!

Eutyches, the enemy of Nestorius, was accused of teaching that the two natures of Christ were so united as to become one nature; and was condemned^q by the council of Constantinople. The Eutychians were supposed to hold that the two natures coalesced, and that the human nature was absorbed in the divine.

Eutyches had persecuted Nestorius. His own turn came next, and he was condemned, being seventy years old.

The second council of Ephesus, which is called *Latrocinium Ephesinum*^r, restored Eutyches, and deposed the bishops who had deposed him. Afterwards the old man was again condemned and banished; but the mild and charitable pope Leo obtained of the emperor Marcian that he might be removed, and sent to some remoter and worse place. It is to be supposed that grief and fatigue, and poverty, and ill usage, and old age, for he was then seventy-six, soon put an end to him^s.

Nestorius in one of his sermons defied the Ægyptian, so he called Cyril, to a fair combat and trial of skill, and accused him of fighting with *golden arrows*, or of bribery. Cyril said the same of Nestorius; and probably both of them said no more than was true.

^p Le Clerc, Bibl. A. et M. xxviii. 265.

^q A. 448.

^r A. 449.

^s Fleury, vi. 321. Basnage, iii. 484.

In the council of Ephesus, the prelates of the opposite factions represented each other as mere rioters and ruffians. In this also there was probably too much truth.

Some of these prelates, says Fleury, subscribed by the hand of a presbyter; one because he had a lame wrist, another because he was sick; others, I suppose, because they had bones and joints in all their fingers.

Theodoret and Acasius say that things were carried on against Nestorius by bribery; and the bishops who sided with Nestorius complained that Cyril prevailed by flatteries and by presents. Even Fleury^t owns that Cyril bestowed large gifts upon the courtiers, so that the church of Alexandria was impoverished by those expenses; and Tillemont^u; though partial and too favourable to him, condemns this part of his conduct.

A. 428. Theodorus Mopsuestenus was accused of Pelagianism; and not altogether without cause, for he certainly, as well as other Greek fathers, held most of the tenets which were called Pelagian. He also was accused of Nestorianism. He is highly commended by Chrysostom, by Theodoret, and by the Greeks in general, both as a good prelate, and as a learned and valuable writer. But the general council of Constantinople^x condemned the memory and the books of Theodorus; 'and in this sentence,' says Valesius, 'the universal church hath at length acquiesced.'

But, notwithstanding this formidable decision of a *general council*, Theodorus will for ever be held in esteem by all candid and competent judges. As to the *universal church*, that bugbear, which Valesius sets up to scare us, it only means the *Roman-Catholic church*; that is, the *particular-universal-church*^y.

Theodorus wrote a book, levelled against Jerom, in the opinion of Cave^z, which he supports by very probable reasons.

'Although, after his death, he was accused of many pernicious errors, yet they who have considered the extracts from his works, made by Photius, will be grieved that those

^t vi. 178. Basnage, iii. 360.

^u H. E. xiv. 541.

^x A. 553, ^y See Theodoret, v. 40. Basnage, iii. 322, ^z i: 387;

works are either lost, or only extant in the Syriac language amongst the Nestorians. His Commentaries are said to be in their hands, and for many reasons deserve to be made public. He and Theodoret were men of great learning and abilities.

‘Theodorus not only wrote a treatise concerning allegories and history, in opposition to Origen, but in his Commentaries on the Old Testament adventured to explain the prophecies, by the help of antient history, in a literal manner; which method of interpretation in all probability exposed him to envy and censure no less than his other doctrines. His example however was and is followed by the Nestorians, who preserve his writings with great care, and account him a saint of the first rank^a.’

A. 429. Germanus was sent to England to stop the progress of Pelagianism. I have elsewhere^b given some account of this saint, and of his exploits and miracles.

A. 432. Paul, the Novatian bishop, miraculously saved his church by his prayers from being burnt; as Socrates positively assures us^c. Now what say the Papiets to this? They say that Paul was a schismatic, and then they reason and conclude, *à priori*, that schismatics never work miracles. Yet there is better evidence for this wonder, than for ten thousand which they adopt; and when Socrates relates an orthodox miracle, they swallow it without hesitation.

A. 434. Proclus was made bishop of Constantinople. Socrates gives him an extraordinary and almost a singular character for mildness and moderation towards the heterodox, and says;

‘He was, if ever man was, a person of excellent morals. Being instructed by Atticus, he studiously imitated all his virtues, and in patience he surpassed him. For Atticus would sometimes threaten and terrify the heretics; but Proclus was mild towards all, hoping to win them over by kind usage. He was firmly resolved to persecute none of those people; and thus he preserved the dignity of long-suffering, and restored it, as a sacred de-

^a Mosheim, p. 208. 211, 212.

^b Six Dissertat. p. 72.

^c vii. 39.

posit, to the church. Herein he imitated Theodosius the younger; for, as the emperor never would exert his power against offenders, so the bishop never molested those who differed from him in religious opinions^d.

How few saints and prelates are to be found in ecclesiastical history who resembled this bishop! Socrates also comes in justly for a share of commendation, since he had the courage to commend such a behaviour, though he wrote in times when little of it was to be found. But Socrates was a layman; and in those days the clergy were the chief fomenters of persecution.

A. 443. Pope Leo exerted his zeal in persecuting the Manichæans. They were to be found out, as he says, by their refusing to drink at the communion. ‘*Ore indigno Christi corpus accipiunt; sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire declinant*’^e.

Leo, with his council^f, condemned Hilary of Arles, as a turbulent seditious prelate, who usurped too much authority, and was disobedient to the holy see of Rome. Thus one *saint* is reviled and stigmatized by another; and what shall we think of it? Hilary was certainly a much better man than the insolent and persecuting pope Leo, who applauded the massacre of the Priscillianists, and grossly misrepresented them^g.

A. 445. This year the *Seven Sleepers* awaked, who, flying from the persecution of Decius, entered into a cave near Ephesus in the year 250, and slept one hundred and ninety-five years^h.

A. 447. There was an earthquake at Constantinople; at which time a boy was taken up into heaven before all the people, and there heard the angels sing their hymn; and came down on earth again, and repeated it to Proclus the bishop, and to others, and then died. This story is adopted, not only by Baronius, which is no marvel, but even by Valesius, from whom better things might have been ex-

^d vii. 41.

^e See Basnage, iii. 401.

^f A. 445.

^g Fleury, vi. 268. Basnage, iii. 408. 471. Du Pin, iv. 138. Barbeyrac, p. 320.

^h Cave, i. 551.

pected. This same hymn or litany is called *the Trisagium*; and it is,

Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

‘Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus immortalis, misere nobis.’

It is intended, as bishop Beverege wisely observes, for an invocation of the Trinity. Some saucy Greeks afterwards presumed to interpolate the angelic song, by adding to it, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι’ ἡμᾶς ‘qui crucifixus es pro nobis.’ And this caused terrible combustions and quarrels in the churchⁱ.

If Greek be the language spoken in heaven, it is bad news for our enthusiastical preachers, who know nothing of that tongue. Baronius, who knew as little of it as they, should, instead of writing ecclesiastical history, have applied himself to the study of Greek. As to Valesius, he had a good share of it, to which he could trust.

A. 448. Theodosius made a law, ordaining that the works of Porphyry against Christianity should be burnt; that the Nestorians, if they were ecclesiastics, should be driven from their sees or churches; if laics, should be excommunicated; and that it should be permitted to every Catholic to inform against them; that all books the doctrine of which should not be conformable to that of the Nicene council, and of the council of Ephesus, and to the decisions of St. Cyril, should be destroyed, and the concealers of them should be put to death^k.

A. 449. The second council of Ephesus was held. Ecclesiastical historians speak of it with detestation, and call it *Latrocinium Ephesinum*^l.

A. 451. The council of Chalcedon drew up a creed, which, according to Basnage^m, runs thus:

‘Sequentes igitur sanctos Patres, unum eundemque confiteri Filium Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum constanter omnes docemus, eundem perfectum in Deitate, eundem perfectum in humanitate: Deum verum et hominem verum,

ⁱ Evagrius, iii. 44. Basnage, iii. 417. Fleury, vi. 569.

^k Concil. Ephes.

^l See Basnage, iii. 438.

^m iii. 462.

eundem ex anima rationali et corpore; consubstantialem Patri; secundum humanitatem per omnia nobis similem, absque peccato,' &c.

But in the original it is thusⁿ:

—ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΘΕΟΤΗΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ὉΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΝ ἩΜΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.

Here Basnage, in his Latin citation, leaves out these important words:

Consubstantial with the Father [AS TO HIS DIVINITY, AND CONSUBSTANTIAL WITH US] as to his humanity.

From this remarkable expression (if these fathers knew what they said) it may be inferred, that by *consubstantiality* they meant to establish a *generical* and not a *numerical* identity of substance.

But what shall we think of this omission of Basnage? Was it a mere oversight? or was it a piece of legerdemain?

Their decrees were ratified, and the heretics fully confuted, by a miracle wrought by the reliques of St. Euphemia^o.

The prelates at this council complained of Barsumas the monk, who had murdered Flavian the bishop; and they say of him, He overturned all Syria, and he brought against us a thousand monks.

Hence it appears what dragoons the monks were in those days. The emperors, who often wanted troops, should have pressed them all for recruits.

Concerning the acts of this council, and the encroachments of pope Leo, see Cave^p.

A. 452. At this time Theodosius, a monk, under pretences of maintaining orthodoxy, stirred up and headed the monks of Palæstine, and filled Jerusalem with tumults, set fire to houses, broke open jails, murdered a bishop and some other persons, and caused himself to be elected bishop of Jerusalem. Yet this wretch found means to hide himself, and to escape punishment^q.

The prelates of Constantinople acquired the title of patriarchs from the council of Chalcedon, having before only that of bishops and of archbishops. In the Chronicon Ec-

ⁿ Evagrius, ii. 4. p. 291.

^o Tillemont, v. 409.

^p i. 492.

^q Basnage, iii. 474.

clesiæ Græcæ, by Philippus Cyprius, an account is given of all the prelates of that see^r.

A. 452. Valentinian made a law^s to restrain the encroachments of the bishops, who were for ever meddling in matters of civil jurisdiction. He allows them to be judges only in points merely spiritual and ecclesiastical, and permits appeals from them to the civil courts in all other cases. For this wholesome decree Baronius insults and reviles the emperor, and calls it ‘indignam plane Christiano principe sanctionem.’ But Fleury^t mentions this law, without passing any censure at all upon it.

A. 453. The popes at this time began to keep *spies* and *informers* at Constantinople.

‘St. Leo recommends to the emperor Marcian one Julian, whom he declares to be his legate, established by him to solicit at the emperor’s court all things relating to the faith and peace of the church against the heretics of the age. This is the beginning of the pope’s legates residing at Constantinople, who were afterwards called *apocrisarii*, or *correspondents*, employed by the popes to maintain faith and discipline, to watch narrowly the prelates of Constantinople, and to hinder them and other patriarchs of the East from attempting any thing prejudicial to the *Catholic church*’^u.

A. 455. Geisericus king of the Vandals attacked Rome, and pillaged and in a manner destroyed it, and returned to Carthage with a great number of prisoners.

When the captives had reached the African shore, a new calamity was added to their distress; for the husbands were to be separated from their wives, and the children from their parents. Upon this sad occasion, the bishop of Carthage, whose name was Deogratias, surpassed himself in liberality. To hinder this cruel separation, he sold all the church-plate, which was of gold and silver, and ransomed these captives. As there was no accommodation in the city for them, he filled the churches with beds of straw. He visited their sick who were numerous, attended with physicians, and carrying with him proper food for them; and went

^r Bibl. Univ. vii. 48.

^s Basnage, iii. 471.

^t vi. 478.

^u Fleury, vi. 490.

the rounds every night, to see how they fared, and what they wanted; not deterred by his own infirmities and weak old-age^x.

In our travels through the gloomy paths of ecclesiastical history, we now and then meet with such prelates as this, shining lights, of whom the world was not worthy.

A. 457. Timotheus was made bishop of Alexandria, a profligate wretch, who was nicknamed *Timotheus Ælurus*, that is, *Timothy the Cat*, because he had crept about in the dark, pretending to be an angel, and deluding the stupid monks, to serve his own ends, and to obtain the bishopric.

He caused his predecessor Proterius to be murdered in the church, and his dead body to be dragged through the city, and cast into the fire^y.

A. 459. Salvian, a presbyter of Marseilles, a learned and candid man, and a firm Consubstantialist, speaks very handsomely and charitably of the Goths and Vandals of the fifth century, who were Arians; and boldly declares that in regularity and good discipline, in piety, charity, chastity, moderation, and every moral virtue, they much surpassed the orthodox Romans or Greeks.

They are heretics, says he, in our opinion, but not in their own: they are in an error, but they err for want of knowledge, and with a pious intention. What sentence the Judge will pronounce upon them at the last day, he alone knows. In the mean time, God is long-suffering towards them, and exercises his just judgments upon us, because, if our faith be better than theirs, their behaviour is better than ours; because ignorance is entitled to some favour, wickedness to none, &c.^z

It is an illustrious instance of the piety of the Goths, that when, under Alaric, they took Rome, they granted not only life but liberty to all those who fled to the churches of the apostles, and to the tombs of the martyrs. St. Augustin highly extols this their behaviour, and Orosius scruples not to call it a proof of their fear of God, and reverence for religion. He adds that Alaric took care that all the sacred

^x Victor, De Persec. Vandal. Basnage, iii. 486. Fleury, vi. 504.

^y Theodorus Lector, l. i. p. 565.

^z De Provident. l. v.

vessels, which had been taken away out of St. Peter's church, should be restored. Nor was it Alaric alone who acted thus. Totilas afterwards did the same, when he took possession of Rome, as Procopius informs us. He also adds that the Goths, whilst they besieged Rome, did no damage to the churches of the two apostles, which were without the city, and suffered the Roman presbyters to perform divine service in them. Nor is it a matter deserving small commendation, that the Vandals, except in the reign of Hunneric, and of Gundebund, and the Goths at all times, abstained from doing violence to the consciences of their subjects, and permitted the embracers of the Nicene faith to believe, to teach, and to worship God after their own way. The ambassadors of the Goths declare to Belisarius, that no man amongst them was ever driven by threats or violence to change his religion; that the Goths themselves, if they were inclined to adopt the Nicene faith, were at full liberty to do it; and that the Goths showed no less reverence to all consecrated places than the Romans. Sidonius, a prelate of great renown amongst the Catholics, says of Theodoric, king of the Westrogoths, '*Antelucanos sacerdotum suorum cœtus minimo comitatu expetit, grandi sedulitate veneratur.*' Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths and of Italy, is highly extolled for his piety by Ennodius, a Catholic bishop. So careful was he even of the religion of the Consubstantialists, though he followed it not, that he always gave them for bishops the worthiest persons that he could find. He put a stop to all simoniacal ordinations; and respectfully desired the prayers of the Catholic clergy, as we are told by Cassiodorus. So that I wonder not to find that even Silverius, the Catholic bishop of Rome, was suspected by the Greeks as preferring the dominion of the Goths to that of the Greek emperor^a.

As the Gothic princes showed their humanity in tolerating those of a different persuasion, they showed their prudence in not permitting their clergy and their people to choose themselves bishops, without leave of the sovereign, or any of their subjects to enter into the service of the church, or into the monastic state, without their permission. And

^a-Grotius, Proleg. ad Hist. Goth.

thus they continued to act after they had quitted Arianism^b.

Theodoric put Symmachus and Boëtius to death, upon false reports; and this, says Procopius^c, was the only act of injustice and cruelty that ever he committed against his subjects.

A. 461. Pope Leo died. Basnage^d observes of him, that his foible was ambition, and that he obtained of the emperor Valentinian that all the western bishops should be obedient to his jurisdiction; but that he compensated this defect by his religious zeal, and by oppressing the Manichæans, Eutychians, Nestorians, and Pelagians.

About this time Daniel, the monk, at the death of Symeon Stylites, took up the same profession, and lived on the top of a pillar. He died upon it A. 490, being eighty years old^e.

A. 466. A certain man fled for protection to a monastery, of which St. Marcellus was abbot. Some soldiers were sent to fetch him out by force; but the abbot would not give him up. The soldiers surrounded the monastery in the night, threatening to break in at the morning. But they saw a fire from the top of the building, darting its rays at them like flashes of lightning; upon which they laid down their weapons, and went to prayers.—This miracle is supposed to have given occasion to the celebrated law of the emperor Leo, in favour of sanctuaries^f, &c.

Thus an artificial phosphorus served for many excellent purposes.

St. Mamertus^g, bishop of Vienna in Gaul, was the institutor of the *rogation days*, or three days of fasting and supplications, before the feast of the Ascension. He was a worker of miracles, and the finder of the bodies of two old martyrs. He was persecuted and condemned by pope Hilarus; upon which Baronius observes; ‘Who knows not that it often happens that popes are misled by false representations to condemn the innocent?’

^b Joann. Garssias, apud Grot.

^c Bell. Goth.—Basnage, iii. 584.

^d iii. 504.

^e Fleury, vi. 359. vii. 43.

^f Fleury, vi. 582.

^g Basnage, iii. 512.

He hath made, for once, a fair concession. But what a tribunal is this, to which all mankind ought to be subject ; a tribunal where calumny triumphs over innocence, notwithstanding the assistance of *infallibility* to direct the vicar of Christ ?

James, by birth a Greek, by religion a Pagan, was a most learned man, and an eminent physician. He was sent for by the emperor Leo, who was ill of a fever. When he came into the chamber, without staying for the emperor's leave, he sat down on a chair that was placed by the bedside, and felt his pulse. Returning the same day, and observing that the chair was taken away, and guessing the reason, he sat down on the bedside, and told the emperor that in so doing he was not guilty of arrogance and disrespect, but only followed the precepts and the practice of his predecessors the antient physicians^h.

A. 471. Martyrius, bishop of Antioch, finding the inhabitants seditious, and favourers of Peter the Fuller, who wanted to drive him out, called them together, and threw up his bishopric, saying ; Farewell to a contumacious clergy, a disobedient people, and a contaminated churchⁱ!

Gennadius, bishop of Constantinople, died. He passed for a worker of miracles, and left behind him a good character and a great reputation. He had a bad opinion of Cyril of Alexandria, and of his doctrines, and accounted him a blasphemer^k.

Acacius was made bishop of Constantinople, and was excommunicated by pope Felix because he would not submit to the papal authority. This caused a rupture between the eastern and western churches.

A. 479. Odoacer, who ruled in Italy, had none of the manners of a barbarian ; nor did the Arian religion, which he professed, hinder him from reverencing the orthodox clergy, whom he suffered to act with full liberty of conscience^l.

Huneric, king of the Vandals, gave leave to the Consubstantialists at Carthage to choose a bishop, at the request of the emperor Zeno : but it was upon condition that the

^h Marcellinus, Chronic.

ⁱ Theodorus Lector, p. 567.

^k Basnage, iii. 499. 527.

^l Basnage, iii. 547. Fleury, vii. 34.

Arians should be unmolested in the East; else he declared that he would use reprisals.

The Catholics therefore in Afric chose Eugenius for their bishop; a man who bore a good character, and is extolled by Victor, particularly for his great charity to the poor.

But Hunneric afterwards growing cruel banished Eugenius, and persecuted the Consubstantialists. He ordered that some of them should lose their right hands, and have their tongues cut out; and they spake as plainly after it as they did before, if we may believe Victor, and Marcellinus Comes, and also Procopius^m.

Baradatus was a Syrian monk, who devised new ways of mortification. First he shut himself up in a small chamber; and then ascending a mountain, he made for himself a wooden box, in which he could not stand upright, and was always confined to a stooping posture. This box having no close covering, he was exposed to the wind, to the rain, and to the sun; and for a long time dwelt in this incommodious house. Afterwards, he always stood upright, stretching up his hands to heaven, covered with a garment of skin, with only a small opening to draw his breath.

James, another contemporary monk, lived at first in a small hut; and afterwards in the open air, with only heaven for his covering, enduring the extremes of heat and cold. He had iron chains round his neck and waist, and four other chains hung down from his neck, two before and two behind. He had also chains about his arms. His only food was lentils. For three days and nights he was often so covered with snow, whilst he was prostrate and praying, that he could hardly be seen. This man is celebrated for the many miracles which he wroughtⁿ.

A. 480. The Persian king waged war with the Nephtalites, his neighbours. It was, as Procopius^o informs us, a custom amongst this people, that the richest men chose twenty or more friends, whom they received constantly at their table, and gave them the free use of all their possessions. But when this patron died, all these chosen companions were buried alive along with him in the same grave.

^m Bell. Vandal. c. 8. ⁿ Theodoret. Basnage, iii. 500.

^o Bell. Persic. c. 3.

There was a dreadful earthquake at Constantinople, which lasted forty days^p.

A. 481. The Alexandrians lost a great rarity in their church, namely, a good bishop, when Timotheus Salofaciolus died.

He was so mild in his administration, that his own flock complained of him to the emperor, and accused him of being too gentle and remiss towards heretics; and the emperor sent him orders not to suffer such persons to baptize, and to celebrate divine service. Yet he persevered in his moderation; so that the heterodox party at Alexandria held him in high esteem, and used to say to him, as he passed by, Though we do not communicate with you, yet we love you^q.

The emperor Zeno's 'Henoticum' was a decree contrived partly with a view to extinguish the Nestorian and Eutychian quarrels. But the warm men could not endure it, because it would deprive them of the pleasure of cursing and plaguing their neighbours. Petavius therefore condemns this ungodly scheme of pacification, and says:

'Zeno published a new creed, so slyly worded, that both the Heretics and the Catholics could assent to it; and called it *Ενωτικόν*, the *Reconciler*. Yet it contained a tacit abrogation of the council of Chalcedon. This wicked edict of the emperor was opposed and rejected by the Catholic bishops, and by the head of them all, pope Felix^r.'

Vigilius Tapsensis hath been supposed by many to have been the maker of the Athanasian Creed, about this time. Others are of a different opinion. But it matters little by whom, or where, or when it was composed.

A. 485. Xenaias, afterwards called Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis, though he hath no good character in other respects, had the honour to be the first Iconoclast, and began the attack upon images of the Trinity, and of saints and angels. But after a very long and violent contest the worship of images prevailed, and triumphed over all opposition,

^p Chron. Marcellini.

^q Liberatus, c. 16. Fleury, vi. 612.

^r Ration. Temp. i. 329. Basnage, iii. 552.

as more suitable to the bigotry, stupidity, and knavery of the ensuing times.

Philoxenus said that it was indecent to represent incorporeal angels in a corporeal form; that Christ was not to be painted or carved, but to be worshipped in heart and spirit; that it was childish to make the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove. He threw away the images of angels, and concealed in a secret place as many images of Christ as he could find. He was therefore greatly abhorred by the image-mongers^s.

A. 488. The body of St. Barnabas was found, by revelation, at Cyprus, and on his breast the Gospel of St. Matthew in Greek, transcribed by St. Barnabas himself. See an account of these *lies* in Basnage^t, who treats the discovery as a pious fraud. Tillemont^u believes it all, and did not see that it was a mere political job. Anthemius, bishop of Salamis, made use of this discovery to prove that his see, being founded by Barnabas, was an apostolical church, no less than that of Antioch, and therefore ought not to be subject to the patriarch of Antioch. He actually carried his point, and obtained an exemption.

A. 491. An infirmary, or hospital, was established in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, for the reception of those zealous monks, who, rashly attempting to lead the life of hermits, had lost their senses, and afterwards had recovered them^x.

The *loss* is not to be questioned; the *recovery* may well be questioned.

Gelasius, who was made pope in the year following, had the effrontery to send an epistle to the emperor Anastasius, in which he claimed to himself and to his see infallibility, or something very like it. He was a persecutor of the Pelagians, and a scribbler against them. He pretended to advance the papal authority even above general councils. 'But we must remember,' says Fleury^y, 'that he who speaks thus is a pope.'

^s Basnage, iii. 598. Fleury, vii. 37.

^t iii. 574.

^u i. 394. Fleury, vii. 38.

^x Fleury, vii. 50.

^y vii. 75. Basnage, iii. 585.

In an antient *Sacramentarium*, a kind of liturgy, or common-prayer-book, ascribed to this pope, the Nicene Creed hath not the addition of *Filioque*; but it is only said of the Holy Ghost, that he 'proceedeth from the Father:' which, as Fleury² observes, shows the antiquity of that book.

A. 493. Theodoric was in many respects a great and an excellent prince. We may believe Petavius, who was not disposed to commend heretics:

'Odoacer being conquered, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, became master of Italy. And at first he reigned in such a manner, that he deserved to be compared to the very best of the Roman emperors. Though, with his countrymen, he was of the Arian sect, yet he faithfully continued and protected all the rights and liberties of the Roman church. But, as he grew old, he inclined to cruelty and barbarity^a.'

He put to death two judges, for having procrastinated causes that were brought before them.

A woman of quality complained to him that she had been three years at law with a senator, and could not get the cause decided. He sent for the judges, and told them that if they did not speedily finish the affair, he would put them to death. They, after a hearing of two days, gave sentence for the woman, who went and returned thanks to the king. He then called the judges before him, and said, Why did you protract a suit for three years, which you have finished in two days?

After this, he ordered them both to be beheaded; which severity put an end to such delays^b.

Alaric; king of the Visigoths in Spain, treated also the Consubstantialists with great humanity.

Hilderic, king of the Vandals, though he had promised his predecessor Thrasamond that he would never open the churches of the Catholics in Afric, and restore them their privileges, yet changed his mind, and recalled their exiled bishops, and gave them leave to assemble; but yet he would not join himself to their communion. At the same time, Theodoric was no less favourable to them in Italy.

On the contrary, Hormisda the pope persecuted the Ma-

² vii. 91.

^a Ration. Temp. i. 338.

^b Basnage, iii. 584.

nichæans, and caused them to be whipped, and then banished; and Justin the emperor oppressed all the heretics in his dominions. He began to treat the Arians cruelly; but Theodoric protected them, by threatening that he would use reprisals.

Gundabund, king of the Vandals, succeeded Hunneric.

‘He ordered a burying-place at Carthage to be restored to the Catholics, and recalled their bishop Eugenius from banishment. He opened their churches, which had been shut up; and, at the request of Eugenius, he gave leave to all the presbyters to return home^c.’

Thus these barbarian and Arian princes showed clemency to the Catholics, who probably would have showed none to the Arians, if their power had been equal to their inclinations.

At this time Arianism was the flourishing and ruling religion in the West, in Aquitain, Burgundy, Italy, Spain, and Afric^d:

A. 496. Chlodoveus, or Clovis, king of the Franks, was baptized: at which time, says Hincmar, suddenly a light brighter than the sun filled the church, and a voice was heard, saying, ‘Peace be with you: it is I: be not afraid: abide in my love.’ Then a most fragrant odour perfumed the whole place; and a *dove* came, and brought in her bill a phial full of chrism, with which his majesty was anointed. This was, as Baronius excellently observes, ‘a miracle worthy of the apostolical times.’ The *sancta ampulla* is still preserved, and revered by the godly; and the abbé Vertot was not ashamed to write a dissertation in defence of it. Middleton^e hath made some remarks on this miracle.

Archbishop Hincmar, says Fleury^f, so late as in the year 869, is the first voucher for the truth of the *sancta ampulla*, the holy phial. Hence, I think, and from Fleury’s silence when he relates the baptism of Clovis, it may be concluded, that he had not such a portion of faith as Baro-

^c Prosper, Chron. Hermannus Contractus.

^d Fleury, vii. 136. 267. 269, 270. 283.

^e Vol. i. 124.

^f xi. 229.

nus, and that he believed nothing of this miracle. The same may be said of Daniel, who wrote the History of France.

The conversion of Clovis, says Vertot, was not less a masterly stroke of policy than a miracle of grace ; and this prince after his baptism did not reign in Gaul because he was the strongest, but because the clergy had disposed the people to receive him as their lawful sovereign^g.

Clovis, in honour to whose piety this miracle was wrought, was a Christian, it seems ; but a strange sort of Christian. He retained all the ferocity and barbarity that he had when he was a Pagan. Restless, ambitious, and sanguinary, as most conquerors are, he murdered kings and princes who were his near relations.

If there be any truth in the story (which I do not believe), I would suppose, with Mosheim^h, that the ecclesiastics, who attended at the king's baptism, had trained up a tame dove to fly to the font with a phial hung to her neck. Why not ? We had here a *canary-bird*, who could perform greater feats, and play as many ingenious tricks as his predecessors, the *little horse* and the *chien savant*, to the astonishment of the spectators.

A. 498. Olympius, an Arian, being in the bath at Constantinople, and disputing there with some of the contrary party, used very profane expressions concerning the Trinity. Immediately he was punished by an angel, who flung *three* pails of scalding water upon him ; and he expired in a miserable condition. Basnageⁱ adopts this miracle. The voucher for it is one who did not see it, Victor Tununensis, who might possibly be born at that time, but flourished several years after. St. John Damascene also relates it ; but this *saint* is a noted *liar*, and he lived long afterwards. However, Jack, to do him justice, did not make it ; he found it upon record.

If it be not a mere fiction, the angel might possibly be one of the servants at the bath, who, it may be, clapped a

^g Mem. de l'Acad. t. iv. p. 306. Basnage, iii. 593. Le Clerc, Bibl. Choix. xxvii. 37.

^h P. 196.

ⁱ iii. 498.

pair of paper wings upon his shoulders, to give himself an angelic appearance.

At this time Laurentius and Symmachus were elected popes by two opposite factions, which filled the city of Rome with tumults and massacres.

A. 494. Anastasius the emperor abolished an infamous tax upon beggars and bawdyhouses.

‘Rem ad decus et gloriam insignem patravit Anastasius, remoto infami tributo quod *Chrysargyrum* vocabatur. Impositum erat iis qui stirpe collatitia vicitabant, et mulierculis quæ corpore quæstum faciebant, et masculis qui muliebria passi et naturam ipsam et rempublicam ignominia afficiebant. Qua collatione licitum cuivis erat incestam libidinem perpetrare. Neque novum illud pensitandi genus, cum imperante Caligula solveretur.—Pendebatur et regnante Alexandro Severo, quod tamen ærario suo optimus princeps inferri noluit,’ &c.^k

A. 500. The Catholics disputed with the Arian bishops, before an Arian prince, and proposed to go to the grave of a dead saint, and appeal to him, and desire him to decide the question by working a miracle. The Arians would not comply with this proposal. Perhaps the story is a fiction; but if it be true, the Arians, who did not traffic in miracles so much as their antagonists, were much in the right to refuse and reject such strange experiments.

On this occasion, Avitus, a bishop, acquired great honour, and put to shame and silence Bonifacius the advocate for the Arians^l.

After all, such kind of conferences, held for a few hours, are silly and useless methods for settling controverted points.

This year an anti-Arian miracle was wrought. Deuterius, the Arian bishop at Constantinople, baptizing a man whose name was Barba, presumed to alter the baptismal form, and to say over him, ‘Barba is baptized in the name of the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost.’ Whereupon the water that was in the font instantly vanished away, and Barba, terrified at the sight, ran as fast as his legs could

^k Basnage, iii. 602.

^l Basnage, iii. 603.

carry him, and told it to every one. So says Theodorus Lector; and the same story is related by Theophanes, Victor Tununensis, Cedrenus, Paulus Diaconus, and other vouchers *ejusdem farinae*; and is adopted by Basnage.

The Jewish Talmud was completed and made public^m.

Cassiodorus flourished in this century, and was in the highest posts, and in favour with Theodoric, Athanaric, and Vitigius, Arian princes: yet he was a firm Consubstantialist.

A. 507. St. Cæsarius founded a monastery for nuns, and gave rules for their conduct.

‘The corrections of those who offended were reprimands, excommunication, or a separation from prayers, or from the common table; and, lastly, discipline, that is to say, flagellation. The bishops used this kind of correction not only to their slaves, but to freemen who were subject to their jurisdiction: and it is observed as a singular proof of the *mildness* of Cæsarius, that he never inflicted more than thirty-nine stripes, following in this the law of Mosesⁿ.’

I cannot discern any *mildness* in such usage. Thirty-nine stripes, properly applied, would flay the patient from the shoulders to the buttocks. What an infatuation was it for Christians to submit to such fanatical tyrants, and sanctified scourgers!

A. 515. Timothy succeeded Macedonius in the see of Constantinople; and because he hated his predecessor, and pretended that he had been an enemy to the Nicene faith, he ordered the Nicene Creed to be repeated every time that divine service was performed at church; which before had been recited only once in the year, on Good Friday. He also added many religious ceremonies. He was a shuffling rascal, *insignis veterator*, says Basnage^o; who might have added, *insignis novator*^p.

The fleet of Anastasius the emperor overcame that of Vitalian. Proclus, a celebrated mathematician, is said on this occasion to have hung up brazen mirrors on the walls

^m Basnage, iii. 606.

^p Fleury, vii. 154.

^o iii. 623.

^p See Cave, i. 497.

of Constantinople, which, by reflecting the sun-beams, set the enemies' ships on fire^q.

'I have heard it affirmed, says lord Bacon, by a great, though vain, dealer in secrets, that there was a conspiracy, which himself hindered, to have killed queen Mary, sister to queen Elizabeth, by a burning-glass from the leads of the house, as she walked in St. James's Park.'

At this time it was said that there were several *dæmoniacs* at Alexandria.

'Quæ de Alexandrinis et pueris et mulieribus, dum a *dæmonibus* vapulant, latratum edentibus, Græci recentiores memorant fabulis propiora videntur. Qui narrationum ejusmodi, quas patulis faucibus Baronius sorbet, cupidus est, *Miscellaneam* adeat historiam et *Cedrenum*.'

These *barking* boys and girls seem rather to have been bitten by mad dogs than by devils.

The author of the *Excerpta* says, that the Christians at Ravenna rose against the Jews, and burnt their synagogues, and that Theodoric punished them for it, and compelled them to rebuild all that they had destroyed^r.

A. 520. One of the prettiest miracles of those days is contained in the story of Zosimas, the Lion and the Ass.

Zosimas was a monk, who performed many wonderful works. As he was travelling through Cæsarea, and leading his ass, on whom he had laid his small provisions and his baggage, he met a lion, who seized on the ass and dragged him away. Zosimas, as fast as he could, followed the wild beast into the forest, and there found him devouring the ass. When the lion had filled his belly, Zosimas smiled upon him, and said; My friend, thou hast quite stopped my journey, for I am old and infirm, and not able to bear my luggage upon my own shoulders. Therefore I must desire thee to carry this burden for me, and then I will let thee go free. The lion then came up, crouching and fawning upon him, and the monk saddled and loaded him, and they went together to the gates of Cæsarea, where he dismissed his porter^t.

^q Zonaras, xiv. 55.

^r Basnage, iii. 631.

^s Basnage, iii. 649.

^t Evagrius, p. 390.

About this time Boëthius was unjustly put to death, a most learned and ingenious man, who may deserve a rank amongst classical authors, and is in some respects superior to some of them^u.

A. 527. 'Justinian began to reign. He wrote some tracts, and published many edicts relating to religion. But we must not imagine that they were his own compositions; for, as Suidas tells us, he was one of the illiterate princes. However, he employed skilful persons, who wrote in a style and manner worthy of the imperial dignity. Nothing can be more noble and better-drawn up than the laws, edicts, and epistles which bear his name. We find in them a character of gravity, wisdom, and majesty, which is not to be met with in the laws of other emperors^x.'

Suidas indeed says of Justinian that he was illiterate to the last degree. But there is sufficient reason to conclude that the passage in Suidas is corrupted, and that it should be *Justin*, and not *Justinian*.

'Justinum mire imperitum ac rudem fuisse literarum testis est in Suppressa Historia Procopius: sic ut ne suum quidem nomen posset scribere. Quare quod de Justiniano legitur apud Suidam, fuisse ἀμάθετον γραμμάτων πάντων, et ἀναλφάβητον, ignarum literarum omnium, id de Justino, capiendum esse, non de Justiniano, censet Alemannius, in notis ad Procopium; hunc enim doctissimum fuisse probat idem. Quod autem apud Suidam pro Ἰουστινῶς irrepsisse putat Ἰουστινιανός, de eo amplius cogitandum^y.'

Justinian published cruel edicts to compel dissenters of all kinds to be of his religion, and was a violent persecutor of Pagans, Samaritans, Arians, astrologers, and all men called heretics, partly through blind zeal, and partly through covetousness, that he might seize upon their effects.

He is thought by some to have done more harm than good to the *civil law*, by causing an imperfect hasty compendium to be made of it in his Digests.

By his general Belisarius, he conquered and in a manner depopulated Afric, took Carthage, and destroyed the domi-

^u See Cave, i. 495.

^x Du Pin.

^y Petavius, Rat. Temp. i. 337.

nion of the Vandals, and, putting an end to Arianism in those regions,

‘ Made his new subjects orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks.’

He and Theodora, like two religious princes, headed each of them a religious faction, he that of the Chalcedonians, she that of the Eutychians. The lady, if the *scandalous chronicle* saith true, was the daughter of a fellow who kept bears for the amphitheatre, and had been the most shameless and infamous of all actresses, strumpets, and street-walkers.

The title of *Most Christian* was first given to Justinian by the fifth general council at Constantinople. But, alas! his most Christian majesty at last fell into heresy, and was one of those who were called *Aphthartodocitæ*: for in his time a dispute arose, for want of a better, whether the body of Christ whilst he lived upon earth had been corruptible or incorruptible; and hence arose the sects of the *Corruptibles* and the *Incorruptibles*; and Justinian sided with the latter, and held that the body of Christ by its union with the Divinity was incorruptible. It was indeed no great matter what nonsense he believed, if he had not persecuted those who would not agree with him.

He spent his time in examining and deciding such sort of theological controversies, and, instead of applying to affairs of state, amused himself with frivolous speculations concerning the divine nature.

Of the trifling disputes carried on with amazing fury in those days, a good account may be found in Du Pin².

Procopius, to whom we are obliged for the history of those times, speaks with due contempt and detestation of the theological war, which then raged with so much folly and violence; and blames Justinian for stripping heretics of their possessions, and putting them to death.

Procopius hath been suspected³ or accused of Paganism,

² v. 206. See Evagrius, p. 392. 398. 420. 422.

³ Evagrius, a Christian historian, who lived after Procopius, but in the same century, speaks with great esteem of him, and calls him an excellent writer; which he would certainly not have done, if he had suspected him of Paganism or of irreligion.

or of atheism, by La Mothe le Vayer, Eichelius, Alemanus, Cave, and others; but is defended by Cousin, his French translator, and by Fabricius^b.

In his Secret History he unsays many things that he had said in favour of Justinian, Theodora, and Belisarius, in his other histories; and represents the emperor and his wife as two devils incarnate, sent into the world for the destruction of mankind. Therefore some have suspected these Anecdotes to be none of his: as Guietus, Combesius, and La Mothe. Fabricius thinks them genuine.

‘Procopius, who was of Cæsarea, came to Constantinople under the reign of Anastasius, where he acquired so much reputation by his consummate prudence and erudition, that he was raised to great employments and high stations. He accompanied Belisarius in the wars of Italy and Afric, and contributed not a little to the glory of his conquests and triumphs. His merit and his services were recompensed with the office of quæstor, and with the præfecture of Constantinople, the most considerable post in that city. He writes with exactness, politeness, and elegance, as Evagrius testifies. He hath omitted nothing which the art of oratory can employ to embellish a history. The descriptions which he hath given us of countries, mountains, seas, rivers, forts, cities, palaces, churches, pillars, sieges, and battles, are altogether admirable. The harangues are nervous, and suited to the subject. The reflections are solid and judicious, and accompanied with such moral discretion, that vice never fails to be censured, nor virtue to be commended in them. He had seen most of the things which he relates, and this renders him the more worthy of credit. He was a Christian, as it is easy to discern in many places of his works; and I am amazed that a learned civilian of our days should have questioned it on some very slight and weak conjectures^c.’

Now let us hear La Mothe:

‘Although Procopius in his History hath employed harangues oblique and direct, and every thing else that might give him a resemblance to the antients, yet he, as well as Zosimus, is much inferior to them. I have however al-

^b Bibl. Gr. vi. 248.

^c Cousin, Hist. de Constantinople, t. i. præf.

lowed him here a place amongst them, because he and Agathias, of whom I shall also give an account, may pass for the two last Pagan historians who have written in Greek, and of whose works we have any considerable remains. I know that many persons take him for a Christian, and that many passages are to be found in his works, particularly in his *Treatise of the Edifices*^d of Justinian, where he speaks like the believers in his time. But there are other places so contrary to this, and the opinion of those who think him a Pagan is grounded on such strong evidence, that I find myself obliged to come into it. For, without insisting on this, that Procopius seems often to acknowledge Fortune as a great goddess, or laying a stress on the strange animosity which he discovers against Justinian, on account, as it is supposed, of that emperor's religion, that single passage of the first book of his *Gothic War*, where he speaks of the ambassadors whom this prince sent to the bishop of Rome, to accommodate the discordant opinions of the Christians, should be sufficient to undeceive those who have considered Procopius as a Catholic historian.

“I shall not amuse myself, says Procopius, in relating the subject of these controversies, though I know it well enough. For I hold it to be a mere folly to seek into the divine nature. The human understanding scarcely knows the things which belong to man: much less can it comprehend the things which relate to the eternal Deity. Let it therefore be permitted to me to pass over such points in silence. All that I shall say of God is, that he is perfectly good, and that he governs all things. He who knows more about him may say more about him, whether he be of the sacerdotal order, or whether he be a private man^e.”

“In truth, he could not more explicitly deride all our theology, and the zeal of the fathers of the church, who at that time were combating the Arian heresy. His discourse is that of a mere deist, who thought, as did many other philosophers, and one Melissus, mentioned by Hesychius, that it was rashness to determine any thing concerning the Deity, and impossible to have any knowledge of him. How

^d In that book, Procopius talks of reliques, and of miracles wrought by saints, in the style of a very bigot.

^e See what Fabricius offers in defence of this passage, p. 249.

can one imagine that man to have been a Christian, whose belief in God, such as it was, rested upon such principles as these? If to this we add the marks of Pagan superstition which appear in all his books, scarcely shall we be able to distinguish him from the profanest of all the Gentiles. Of this kind is the tale which he relates in his first book of the Persian War, concerning the artifice used by the magi to make Arsaces confess the truth. They covered the half of a floor with Persian earth, and the other with Armenian earth, and enchanted them both in such a manner, that when Arsaces trod upon the ground which came from his own country, he confessed what he had denied whilst he stood on the other. In the following book he says that the military standards turned of their own accord from the west to the east, as presaging the calamities which befel the Antiochians. King Geisericus, in the first book of the Vandalic War, discovers, by the fluttering of an eagle over the head of Marcian, that he would one day be emperor. Attila, about to raise the siege of Aquileia, continues it, because he saw a stork^f carrying away her young ones from the city. In the same book he relates a trifling dream of his own, to which he paid so much regard, that nothing else caused him to resolve upon embarking with Belisarius. His books of the Gothic War contain such-like superstitions. A Jew there foretells, by observations^g made upon thirty hogs, the destruction of the Goths in Italy: and Constantine causes to be buried in the market-place of Constantinople the famous *palladium*^h of Æneas, fetched on purpose from Rome. Is there any thing in these tales that savours of Christianity?

* Since we have hinted at the ill will of Procopius towards Justinian, which he hath so fully discovered in his Anec-

^f Jomandes, a Christian bishop, scruples not to give us the same account. Cap. 42.

^g But Procopius thus introduceth the story; 'Although the thing seems altogether incredible to me, yet I will relate it.' Bell. Goth. i. 9.

If all those who give credit to dreams, enchantments, divination, magical arts, are to be struck out of the list of Christians, the number of the latter will be terribly diminished.

^h Zonaras, a Christian historian, relates the same story. Why then is Procopius called a Pagan for mentioning it? Besides, he only gives it as a tradition related by the inhabitants of Constantinople.

dôtes, we must bestow a few remarks on that performance, as it is the storehouse whence they who have defamed that emperor have been supplied with materials. If we show how much Procopius was to be blamed for writing such a virulent libel against his sovereign, to gratify his own spleen, we shall at the same time invalidate the injurious misrepresentations which others have given of Justinian. The title of *Anecdotes* shows that it was a secret work, which the author did not intend to divulge. It is supposed that he drew it up in the thirty-second year of the emperor's reign, and that he left it imperfect, as repenting that he had suffered his resentments to run so far, and pacified by having received the wages which were due to him. For he complains more than once that the salaries of those who had served the public were detained; and he was much chagrined to find himself for more than thirty years kept out of honourable posts, which were conferred upon others far inferior to him, as he thought, in merit. At last, after having been secretary to Belisarius in all the African, Persian, and Italian wars, he was received into the senate, obtained the title of *Illustrious*, which was given to few persons, and was made, by the favour of the emperor, præfect of Constantinople, which was the highest office in that city. Yet his *Anecdotes* were preserved; Suidas mentions them; and they whom diverse considerations have excited to insult the memory of Justinian have made their use of them, and have published them with glosses and commentaries altogether worthy of the text. Others besides me have undertaken to refute this work; and it may here suffice to show briefly, that the historical parts of Procopius become entirely absurd and ridiculous, if we pay any deference to this libel.

‘For since he protesteth, in the beginning of his first book of the Persian War, that no man can justly reproach him of having written partially, to oblige persons who deserved no favour, or of having suppressed the truth, to spare the character of any friend; and since he acknowledgeth that as eloquence is the object of rhetoric, and fable of poetry, so is truth the proper end of history; how intolerable is it in him, after having as an historian represented Justinian as a very great and virtuous prince, to set him forth in the

Anecdotes as one of the most infamous and vicious of all mankind! What is alleged in his behalf concerning the danger of offending sovereign power, can never excuse such shameless discordance, and such manifest contradictions. So that Procopius stands at the same time convicted of having transgressed the two most important duties of his profession; the first, never to relate what is false; the second, never to suppress such truths as ought to be made known. Let us illustrate this point a little.

‘Certain it is, that Procopius hath always spoken most honourably of Justinian and Theodora in many places of his Histories, though not so often as he might have done. In the second book of his Persian War, he commends him for his foresight joined to a singular piety, with relation to a great pestilence, which passed from Ægypt to Constantinople, and which he took all possible means to stop. In his six Narrations of the Edifices of Justinian, he perpetually sets forth his greatness of mind, his devotion, his liberality, his mildness, and his magnificence. The monastery erected for penitent prostitutes, whom Theodora retrieved from a vicious life, gives him an opportunity to speak of her zeal and charity conjointly with that of her husband, though he hath given a different turn to this action in his Anecdotes. But in many places he hath made honourable mention of this lady. When it was debated what measures should be taken against Hypatius, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Constantinople, he represents her speaking with such a spirit on the occasion, that, as he assures us, nothing infused so much courage into those of the imperial council, as the heroic resolution of Theodora. And when he describes the bad qualities of that John of Cappadocia who was turned out of the office of præfect, he says, that he was fool enough and rash enough to calumniate to Justinian himself the empress Theodora, whom he calls a woman of great prudence. If he hath mentioned her in other places of his History without compliments, it hath been also without censures. He speaks of her decease, at the end of the second book of the Persian War, but he says nothing to her disadvantage. And he speaks of it also in the third book of the Gothic War, as happening at the same time when Belisarius sent his

wife Antonina to court, to forward his affairs by the favour of the empress, without throwing out any reproach upon her. Now let us turn the medal, and see what a portrait he hath drawn of Justinian and Theodora in the satirical work of which we are complaining.

First then, to render this prince still more odious, he will have it that in his features he resembled Domitian, whose memory was held in such execration, that by a decree of the senate his statues were pulled down all through the empire, and his name erased from all public inscriptions. Yet he was obliged to add that Justinian's was a handsome, or not disagreeable, likeness of Domitian. He compares him also to an *ass*, not only for heaviness and stupidity, but because he used to move his ears to and fro; on which account, in the open theatre, he was called *Γαυδάς*, or *Asinego*, by the *Prasini*, or the *Green Faction*, to which he was an enemy, according to the remark of Nicolaus Alemannus, who hath lately published the curious *Anecdotes of Procopius*, accompanied with historical notes *ejusdem farinae*. He was moreover a prince who condemned people upon the first accusation, without giving them a hearing; and who on any false report would, with great calmness and indifference, order the sacking of cities, or the destruction of provinces. The love of women carried him beyond all bounds, and his hatred was always implacable. He wore the appearance of a Christian, but in his heart he revered the Pagan deities. His profusions, particularly in buildings, constrained him to use strange extortions; so that, besides the ordinary tributes which his præfects were to levy, there was one which he himself in derision used to call *aërial*, as having no other foundation than his own covetous and tyrannical humour. His fickle mind was susceptible of all impressions, except those of humanity. He never kept his word, unless something was to be gotten by it. Flattery charmed him; and Tribonian gained his affections, by declaring, in his hearing, that he greatly feared lest Heaven should snatch away so pious a prince from the earth unexpectedly, and on a sudden. In a word, one would think that Nature had taken a pleasure to infuse into the soul of this monarch an assemblage of all the bad qualities that could be found in the rest of men. To ruin

them all the more easily, his wife and he laid a trap for them, by appearing to be always at variance with each other, the one affecting to protect the party of the *Blues*, the other of the *Greens*. They were both of them such, that many persons, to insinuate themselves into their favour, pretended to be worse than they were, and inclined to all sorts of vices. And in the opinion of Procopius, and of those who had an opportunity to know them best, they passed for devils incarnate, and furies who wore a human shape, that they might the more commodiously plague mankind, and set nations at variance, and turn the world upside down. And, in fact, the mother of Justinian often confessed that she had him not by her husband Sabbatius, but by an *incubus* who kept her company. As to Theodoraⁱ, they who had been her gallants when she was an actress, related that dæmons, or nocturnal spirits, had often driven them away to lie with her themselves. I have received from Rome some passages which decency caused to be suppressed in the forty-first and forty-second page of the printed *Anecdotes*, wherein Procopius represents this woman as guilty of such strange acts of lust and immodesty, even upon the theatre, that no one ever heard of the like abominations, or ought to envy the Vatican library for having a complete copy of the original. But let this suffice for a compendious representation of the characters of Justinian and Theodora, as delineated by Procopius in this infamous libel, which discredits all his other performances.

‘ I will not urge here that Justinian had been ranked amongst the *saints*, as we are told by Nicephorus, Bartolus, Joannes Faber, Gennadius, and others, who have fixed his festival on the calends of August. I shall only say, that though he and his spouse had been the most vicious of mankind, Procopius ought not to have been so unlike to himself, and so faithless to the cause of truth, as to speak of them in the manner that we have seen, blowing hot and cold, and oversetting the credit of his *History* in his *Anecdotes*^k, and the credit of his *Anecdotes* in his

ⁱ That Theodora was an infamous woman, is very certain: See Cave, i. 521. *Viglius*.

^k I find no proofs of the assertion, that Procopius wrote his *Treatise of the Edifices* after the *Anecdotes*.

treatise of the Edifices, which is the last of his works. But without undertaking to refute so many calumnies, what ground could there be to accuse this emperor of cruelty, after having showed with how great clemency he treated, besides Vitigis and Gelimer, two Vandal kings, even those subjects of his who had conspired against his state and his person? John of Cappadocia, his prefect, and the valiant captain Artabanes, convicted of these treasonable practices, suffered nothing worse than imprisonment; and the latter, shortly after, was re-established in his post, and in the good graces of him whom he would have deprived of empire and of life. I know that he hath been reproached for too much severity towards Belisarius. Yet we find nothing of that kind in Procopius, who probably would not have passed it over in silence. Agathias only says, that the enviers of this great general were the cause that the merit of his services was not sufficiently considered, without mentioning one word of condemnation, or confiscation of fortunes. Our Gregory of Tours supposes that Justinian was obliged to substitute the eunuch Narses to take the command in Italy, in the room of Belisarius, because the latter had been too often beaten by the Franks; and adds, that to humble him, the emperor replaced him in his first office of constable, which could not be as considerable a post at Constantinople as it is at present in France. But since there are only a few low scribblers, of no name or authority, who represent him as begging alms in the streets, and reduced to the utmost misery, we ought to look upon this story as fabulous, and, on the contrary, consider him as an example of the generosity of his prince, who, having loaded him with wealth and honours, never used him worse than hath been mentioned, although he had been three times accused to the emperor of designs to set himself up against him. It is also a strange thing that Procopius should have reproached Justinian for his buildings, and yet compose a book in commendation of them, in which he describes the splendid structure of so many churches, hospitals, and monasteries, admiring in them the piety as much as the magnificence of this monarch. Evagrius indeed ascribes to him the repairing or the entire rebuilding of one hundred and fifty cities; but I see not what inferences can

be thence made to his discredit. The love of women, with which he is charged, seems to have no foundation at all. For though we may blame him for having showed such excessive fondness for Theodora, as to have extorted from his predecessor Justin new laws in favour of actresses, that he might marry her, it follows not that we may impute to him that boundless passion for women, with which he is charged by Procopius, without particular instances of it, and without mention made either in his History, or in any other, of the ladies with whom he was in love, and who doubtless would have taken advantage of his affections, if he had been as weak in that respect as the Anecdotes represent him. I could not forbear from setting forth the absurdity of some of these accusations, whence we might judge of the rest, if they did not carry in them their own refutation.

‘ But let me add one word concerning the *Asinine* qualities of Justinian, and observe that how moveable soever his ears might be, he was by no means as stupid as his calumniators describe him. An error in an edition of Suidas, by Chalcondyles, about one hundred and fifty years ago, where the name of *Justinian*¹ crept in, instead of *Justin*, with the nick-name of *Ἀναλφάβητος*, or *Illiterate*, which Procopius himself ascribes only to *Justin*, who indeed could not even write his own name; this error, I say, hath misled great men. Alciat, Budæus, and Baronius are of the number, who, upon this false authority, contradicted by all the manuscripts of the Vatican, have ranged Justinian amongst the most ignorant princes. I had the curiosity to examine three manuscripts of Suidas in the king’s library, to satisfy myself of the error in the above-mentioned edition. Of these manuscripts the two best are correct, and ascribe this ignorance to Justin, who, as we know, had been a ploughman, or grazier, till he entered into the army, and so raised himself to the empire. The third manuscript is faulty, and hath Justinian instead of Justin; whence we may conclude that the printed copy followed some such faulty manuscript. In the mean time, certain it is that Justinian had studied diligently under his preceptor the abbot Theophilus. Many books have been ascribed to him by Isidorus,

¹ Cardinal Noris is of the same opinion. See Bibl. Chois. i. 19.

and by others. The Epistles of Cassiodorus call him *most learned*. And it was thought observable that at the same time three sovereign princes should have made profession of philosophy, Chosroes in Persia, the unfortunate Theodohatus^m in Italy, and he of whom we are speaking at Constantinople : which shows how much he is wronged by those who would make him such an *ignoramus*.

‘ Let us add, that although Procopius deserve to be censured for having given a loose to his private resentments, yet he is an author of no small importance ; since from him alone we can learn what he as an eye-witness hath related of the emperor’s wars against the Persians in the East, the Vandals in Afric, and the Goths in Italy. Hence Leonardus Aretinusⁿ, taking upon himself to give a history of the Goths and Vandals, was induced to commit the crime of *plagiarism*. For, not being able to find materials for his purpose elsewhere, he thought it proper to turn into Latin the three books of Procopius, and made them four, by splitting the latter into two; retrenching some passages which he thought less interesting to his countrymen, and adding some things from others, as the burning of the Capitol by Totilas, who yet, according to Procopius, did not light up such great fires in Rome as those mentioned by Aretin. Yet, in his preface, he thinks it enough to say, that he had made use of some foreign commentaries and Greek narrations without once naming the author, of whom he is the mere translator, and the bad translator, by an affected oversight which cannot be too severely censured. We have in other places rebuked those who forge books, and ascribe them to others; and truly it is no small dishonesty thus to endeavour to impose upon mankind. But if this be the viler roguery, the opposite crime of plagiarism, which, instead of giving, takes away, is the more shameful of the two ; since nothing can be more infamous and base than to steal, and since they who purloin the labours of others show their own incapacity of producing any thing that is valuable.

‘ To return to our author. Under Belisarius he had an insight into almost all the secrets of state, which gives weight

^m See Grotius, Proleg. ad Hist. Goth. p. 38.

ⁿ See Cave, ii. 122. Append. et Menagiana, ii. 101. iv. 88.

and authority to his History. But he hath been blamed for an excessive partiality towards this general, by Bodinus and others. Thus Eginard is reproached as a perpetual flatterer of Charles the Great, Eusebius of Constantine, Paulus Jovius of Cosmo de Medicis, Sandoval of Charles the Fifth, and others of other princes, whom they courted at the expense of veracity. And indeed Procopius is for ever commending Belisarius, illuminating all his actions, and suppressing some part of the successes of which he is writing, rather than to insert any thing that might hurt the reputation of his hero. I shall produce a signal passage, the like to which is not to be found, I believe, in any other historian. It is in the second book of the Vandalic War, where, after he had given us one harangue of Belisarius to his soldiers, and two of his adversary, Stozas, he says that the troops of the former revolted, and obliged their officers to retire into a temple, where they were all slain. Reason required that he should have informed us what became of Belisarius, whom the reader would have supposed to have been massacred with them. But, because it was an ugly event, Procopius, without saying how the general escaped, only observes that, upon the bad news, Justinian sent his nephew Germanus, who came and took the command of the forces in Afric; and maims the narration in such a manner, that the reader knows not where he is. The Latin version indeed is somewhat deficient here, and hath not all that is to be found in the Greek, where nevertheless the fault of which we are speaking is evident enough. This calls to my mind another passage in his second book of the Gothic War, where, upon a mere letter sent by Belisarius, Theodebert, king of the Franks, suddenly stops the progress of his victories, and returns by flight to his own home. He became sensible of his fault, and of his rashness, says the historian, and retired with all speed. As if this potent prince came thither like a mere boy, without having considered what he was about; and as if the rhetoric of Belisarius had reduced him and his counsellors to submit, through incapacity of returning a sufficient answer! Certainly here is no small defect of judgment, and Aretin did well to add a supplement of his own, and to say that hunger and want of provisions compelled the victorious Franks to retire; to which he might have added

contagious distempers, mentioned by Gregory of Tours, where he speaks of this retreat. I find also Procopius ascribing an action to Theodebert, which agrees not with an observation that he had made a little before, that ‘The French were, of all the world, the men who kept their faith the least,’ since he supposeth that a letter of Belisarius, reproaching this prince with the disregard of a treaty, could have so great an influence upon him. A prudent author will not talk at this rate, and rashly insult a whole nation^o, with the same spirit which made the Romans decry *the Greek faith*, and *the Punic faith*, whilst at the same time they were themselves the most perfidious of all mankind towards all other nations. Before I quit this place, in which Procopius hath been so severe upon us, I must also call him to account for having supposed with much malignity and absurdity that the Franks made themselves masters of the camp of the Goths and Romanised Greeks by mere surprise, by coming in an unexpected manner, though they were in number more than a hundred thousand; as if they had dropped from the skies to the centre of Italy, like a cloud of locusts, carried about by the wind from one region to another. But whilst we reprove him for being partial, let us take heed that we fall not ourselves into the same fault, through too much zeal for the honour of our ancestors.

‘To conclude; I think that Procopius deserves an attentive perusal, principally on account of those transactions of which he alone is the relater, and of which he had an exact knowledge. But he requires a discreet reader, capable of discerning the good from the bad, the judicious part of his reflections from the defects of which we have given instances.

‘He was of Cæsarea in Palæstine, whence he came to Constantinople in the time of the emperor Anastasius, whose esteem he acquired as well as that of Justin the Elder, and of Justinian. Suidas, who gives him the title of *Illustrious*, calls him a rhetorician and a sophist; and in truth he seems to have been too much so for an historian. He is diffusive,

^o We pardon La Mothe’s zeal for his country; but certain it is that the Franks had this character, and are so represented by Vopiscus, Salvian, &c. yet they had their good qualities, for which they are commended by Agathias. See Basnage, iii. 590.

but in a style that is rather Asiatic than Attic, and hath often more of superfluity than of real ornament. Photius in his *Bibliothèque* hath only given us the abridgment of his two books of the Persian War, though he make mention of the others. He also distinguisheth him from another Procopius called Gazéus, who lived at the same time under Justinian, and was by profession a rhetorician. If I might venture to follow the judgment of one^p of the most skilful of this age in the Greek language, I should willingly think with him that the book of the *Anecdotes* is a supposititious work, falsely imputed to Procopius. His genuine works seem to be written in a style very different from that of this libel, and to have much more of the air of antient Greece. But, because even they who have written against the *Anecdotes* seem to be agreed in ascribing them to him, I have been obliged to make the foregoing reflections, and to treat Procopius on that account more harshly than I should else have done. Whilst I am writing this, a letter of Balthasar Bonifacius to the illustrious Molini, which I have just now perused, persuades me that I have no cause to retract what I have advanced. This letter is printed at the end of his judgment upon those who have written the *Roman History*. And because, in the chapter on Procopius, he had said nothing concerning the *Anecdotes*, he takes occasion to deliver his sentiment on them to that noble Venetian. He is not less offended than I am at that insolent invective; and wonders, as I do, that Rivius and others, who undertook to refute it, did not think of treating it as a spurious piece; though, as to himself, he will not take upon him to determine positively, but only to declare that he greatly suspects it to be supposititious^q.

La Moynoye published the two Obscene Fragments above mentioned, which were omitted in the editions of the *Anecdotes*, together with a Latin version of his own, for the benefit of those who do not understand Greek; and he says that they are faithfully transcribed from the manuscript in the Vatican.

^p I suspect that he means Guletus, who was a learned man, but a whimsical critic, much inclined to suspect every thing to be spurious, and striking out such passages in authors as did not please him.

^q La Mothe, tom. iii.

I know that Latin and Greek obscenities never passed for contraband goods amongst critics and philologists, and that castrated editions are generally disapproved by the learned. But, without entering into a discussion of that nice subject, I shall only say, that I will not insert such sort of ribaldry in these Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.

I remember to have conversed with some learned friends, who suspected that La Monnoye invented those fragments himself. But it is a mistake, since La Mothe, who wrote before La Monnoye, had a transcript of them.

As to Procopius, he might perhaps be an infidel in his heart; but the accusation of irreligion brought against him by La Mothe and others is not sufficiently made out.

In his book of the Persian War, he relates a miracle wrought by a Syrian monk, called John, and gives him a great character for piety¹.

Speaking of a miracle wrought by a relique of the true cross at Apamia, he calls it a thing beyond all utterance and belief. Yet he seems not to speak thus with a design to invalidate, but rather to magnify the wonder².

He mentions Jesus Christ, and his holy life and miraculous powers, in the style and manner of a believer³.

He seriously relates the story of the Catholics, who had their tongues cut out by Hunneric, because they would not be Arians, and spake plainly afterwards, except two, who lost their speech for their lewdness and fornication⁴.

As to the historian Agathias, who flourished a little after Procopius, he hath in my opinion given us too much reason to suspect him of unbelief; though Fabricius⁵ judge favourably of him also, and rank him amongst the Christians; which he should not have done.

‘History alone,’ says Agathias, ‘is able to give a man immortality, not in the way that Zamolxis hath invented, and that the stupid Goths have received as true; but in another and altogether a divine manner, whereby men subject to death enjoy an everlasting life⁶.’

This is treating the doctrine of a future state with much contempt.

¹ Bell. Pers. c. vii.

² c. ii.

³ c. xii.

⁴ Bell. Vand. c. viii.

⁵ B. Gr. vi. 261.

⁶ 1 Pref.

‘ I once intended,’ says he, ‘ to addict myself altogether to poetry, to which I had a strong propensity, and thus to obey the oracle, which commands us to know ourselves².

‘ Certain it is,’ says he, ‘ that the shedding of blood, and killing of animals, cannot be agreeable to the Deity. A Deity who could take pleasure in such things, must be a cruel one, such as the poets have invented³.’

This seems to be intended as an oblique censure of the Jewish religion, and of their law of sacrifices.

‘ There was,’ says he, ‘ a cavern.—They say that it was formerly the habitation of the Italian Sibyl, where, being inspired by the gods, she uttered oracles to those who came to consult her, and where the celebrated *Æneas* was informed of all things which should befall him⁴.’

Mentioning the Pagan and Platonic philosophers, who, to get away from the Christians, and to enjoy liberty of conscience, left the Roman dominions, and went to Persia, he calls them ‘ the ornament and the flower of the age⁵.’

‘ They have consecrated,’ says he, ‘ a church to the memory of Stephen, that divine man, who, *as they say*, was stoned by the rage of his enemies, because he maintained the sacred truths of the Christian religion⁶.’

‘ Anatolius,’ says he, ‘ who was a great rascal, and a man in high stations, was suddenly killed at Constantinople in an earthquake. When his funeral was celebrated, the populace cried out that his death was a just judgment upon him for his impieties. As for me, I much doubt of the truth of these judgments. Earthquakes would be desirable blessings, if they discerned between honest men and knaves, sparing the one and punishing the others. Although it were granted that Anatolius was a wicked man, yet there were men more wicked than he in the city, who felt no harm when he was crushed. Therefore I am persuaded that it is difficult to know the true reason why he perished, whilst the rest escaped; since it is the sentiment of Plato, that of all the guilty none are more miserable than they who are not punished in this life either by a violent death, or by

² Pref.

³ i. 5.

⁴ i. 6.

⁵ ii. 12.

⁶ iii. 3.

some other correction, and who depart without any purgation of their crimes, like stigmatized slaves, who carry on their forehead the shameful marks of their bondage. If the thought of this philosopher be true, it must be confessed that they who have received their deserved punishment here are happier than they who have it yet to come. However, it were to be wished that this opinion were deeply impressed on the minds of men, because many would then abstain from their crimes, through the fear of undergoing a miserable death. Yet this must be granted, that a long life is not always a mark of probity, nor a violent and untimely death a proof of a bad life. We shall not certainly know the just retribution due to the actions which we perform in this world, till we are no longer in it. But I leave every one to judge of these things as he thinks fit.*

All this hath the true air of a Pagan philosopher. There are many passages in his writings, whence it may be collected that he believed a Deity and a Providence. Whether his creed went any further, must be left uncertain.

Procopius wrote his *Anecdotes*, as he informs us, in the thirty-second year of the reign of Justinian, who reigned six years longer.

His books of *Histories*, as Agathias says, end at the twenty-sixth year of Justinian's reign, at which time Agathias begins.

Procopius had published his *Histories*, when he composed his books of the *Edifices of Justinian*, as we learn *De Edific. li. 1.*

He was made præfect of Constantinople in the year of Justinian 36, A. D. 562.

Agathias wrote his *History*, A. D. 566, after the decease of Justinian, but published it not before A. D. 593.

It is very probable that Agathias knew nothing of the *Anecdotes*, which he could hardly have passed over in silence when he speaks very favourably of the *Histories of Procopius*.

Procopius, what credit soever he may seem to give at some times to portents, yet at other times slights them, as in his *Gothic History*, where he mentions an amazing sea-monster,

taken near Byzantium, which at certain intervals, for more than fifty years, had infested those seas, and sunk some ships, and which was thirty cubits long, and ten cubits wide.

'The Byzantines,' says he, 'having felt the shock of an earthquake, and heard of the taking of the fish, began to prognosticate, each according to his fancy. For thus men, terrified and afflicted at present accidents, are wont to throw out their uncertain conjectures about things to come. But presages and omens I choose to leave to others^f.'

Justinian, before he was emperor, built a church in his own house, dedicated to the Apostles, and desired the pope to send him some reliques to put there. He wanted some linen which had been laid near the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, some filings of the chains of the apostles, and of the grid-iron of St. Laurence^g.

'Justinian's zeal against Pagans and Heretics was suspected of self-interest, since he was a gainer by the confiscations of the fortunes of such persons. But as to the churches of the heretics, those he gave to the orthodox. Now these churches were very rich, particularly those of the Arians. They had great treasures of plate, and other precious things, and also great revenues of lands and houses, and many poor people even amongst the Catholics had been maintained out of them. It was likewise made matter of complaint, that the conversions of such people were precipitated and insincere, and filled the church with hypocrites, who afterwards were deserters. It also frequently happened that the Pagan peasants raised tumults on account of the violent proceedings against them. Some out of despair killed themselves. There were Montanists in Phrygia, who shut themselves up in their own churches, and set them on fire, and perished in the flames. The Samaritans in Palæstine, being persecuted as heretics, raised a rebellion, which was attended with horrible disorders and bloodshed^h.'

If Procopius in the Anecdotes hath treated Justinian too severely, La Mothe, and our Cave, who may be called *the white-washer of the antients*, and some other writers, have gone into the other extreme, and judged too favourably of this emperor.

^f Hist. Goth. p. 376. edit. Grot.

^g Fleury, vii. 250.

^h Fleury, vii. 325.

In his time the art of weaving silk was brought to Constantinople.

‘Some monks, who came from the Indians, being informed that Justinian was desirous to contrive a method by which the Romans might not be obliged to purchase silk from the Persians, obtained an audience, and promised to accomplish his wishes. They told him that they had long dwelt in a country called Serinda, which contained many Indian nations; and that they knew how to enable the Romans to have silk at home; for that there were certain worms which made it. The emperor promised them ample rewards for their discovery; and they, returning to Serinda, brought him back the eggs of the silk-worms; and by these means the silk manufacture was first introduced amongst the Romans at Constantinopleⁱ.’

‘An Italian stroller at this time made himself very remarkable. He led about with him a dog of a tawny colour, who performed wonders at his command. For the man, in the market-place, surrounded with spectators, borrowed of every one a ring, without suffering the dog to see it, and put them all in a hole, covering them with earth; and then ordered the dog to dig them up, and to give to every one his own ring; which the beast performed. Collecting also from the assembly coins of different emperors, his dog would pick out each, when the name of the emperor was told him. Being ordered also to single out of the company women with child, keepers of infamous houses, whoremasters, beggars, gentlemen, &c. he would do it without ever mistaking. Therefore it was commonly believed that the dog had in him a spirit of divination^k.’

It is no wonder that this wise dog should have passed for a dæmoniac; it is a wonder that the ecclesiastics did not seize him, and exorcise him.

‘Justinian made severe laws against gamesters. Some of them being seized at Constantinople, and convicted of horrid blasphemies, had their hands cut off, and were led about the streets, riding on camels, as a public example^l.’

ⁱ Procopius, Hist. Goth. iv. 461. ed. Grot.

^l Ibid. p. 187.

^k Malala, p. 189.

There were most absurd and violent seditions in those days, upon which Procopius makes these reflections :

‘ It is a long time since the inhabitants of every city are divided into two factions, the *Blues* and the *Greens*^m; although it be not long since they are arrived to that pitch of fury, on account of these names and colours by which they are distinguished. They fight together, not knowing the subject of their quarrel, and knowing well that if they come off victorious they will be sent to prison, and thence to execution. They conceive without cause an implacable hatred for their nearest relations, and preserve it all the days of their life, without yielding to the rules of honour, of affinity, or of friendship. When two brethren, or two friends, happen to be listed in different parties, they regard neither divine nor human laws, so the victory be on their side. They care not if God be offended, the civil laws violated, and the state overturned either by the arms of foreign enemies, or by the discord of citizens. When the affairs of their own faction prosper, they concern themselves neither about their own domestic wants, not about the public losses of the empire. The women share in the madness, and follow the faction of their husbands, and sometimes the opposite faction; and although they assist not at the spectacles, they interest themselves as much about them as the men. I know not to what this can be ascribed, except to some mental disease with which they are tormented. Such is the folly of the cities and of the peopleⁿ!’

It is no wonder that men of this temper should have worried one another so implacably for Nestorianism, Eutychianism, and such sort of metaphysical points, or *Blue and Green Theology*.

‘ There was at Constantinople a considerable number of women confined in a place where they were compelled to prostitution, and where hunger and misery obliged them to yield themselves to the embraces of all comers. Certain men had for a long time entered into an infamous society to carry on this wicked trade. Justinian and Theodora, equally zealous

^m They were so called from the *blue* and *green* charioteers in the Circus, whose part they took. Malala also gives some account of the fury of these factions, p. 213. 226—228. 236.

ⁿ Bell. Pers. c. 24.

lous to promote all acts of piety, drove away these reprobates, and abolished these nurseries of debauchery. They delivered the unhappy girls from the necessity of committing such sins, by delivering them from poverty. There was a palace upon the border of the Streights, on the right hand as you sail towards the Euxine sea. This palace they turned into a monastery, and there they shut up the converted prostitutes, that they might have leisure to employ themselves in exercises of religion, and to mourn for the trespasses which they had committed in their former course of life. On this account the place was called *Penitence*. This monastery they endowed with large revenues, and erected in it many elegant buildings, to comfort the recluses, and to make them some sort of compensation for their retirement from the world.'

Thus Procopius extols this pious charity in his *Treatise*^o of Edifices; but in his *Anecdotes*^p he gives it a different turn, and says;

'Theodora set herself to chastize the licentiousness of those women who publicly prostituted themselves; and having caused about five hundred of them to be seized, she shut them up in a monastery on the other side of the Bosphorus, and obliged them to do penance. But some of them, to be delivered from the bondage of this forced repentance, flung themselves out of the windows into the sea.'

Malala represents the thing thus;

'The most religious Theodora, to many other excellent deeds, added this: There were keepers of brothel-houses, who went about buying the girls of the poorest people at a small price, and then prostituting them, even by violence, and living upon this abominable trade. She ordered them all to be taken up, and brought before her, with the girls whom they kept; she paid them the price which they had given for their purchases, and delivered the unhappy creatures from this scandalous bondage; and having clothed them and given them necessaries, she set them at liberty, and caused all such practices to be prohibited for the time to come^q.'

Malala hath given a large account of the reign of Justinian, as far as his history goes, which breaks off abruptly, the latter part being lost. He bestows great commendations on him and on his pious spouse, calling him *Θεοτάτον*, *most divine*, and her *εὐσεβέστατην*, *most religious*. These compliments may be very well added to Cave's¹ arguments, to show that Malala lived in those times, and much earlier than some critics have imagined.

‘A rescript of Justinian, A. 541, is dated by the year of the emperor, without mention of consuls; and from this year the custom of counting years by consulates, which had prevailed from the beginning of the Roman republic, was dropped; and thenceforwards they made use of the year of the reigning emperor, and of the indictions².’

About this time a custom was introduced in France for kings to sell bishoprics, and for ecclesiastics to purchase them³.

Eutychianus, an ecclesiastic, wrote an account of the repentance and conversion of St. Theophilus. This Theophilus, who had some honourable office in the church, being unjustly deposed by his bishop, that he might recover his post, made a compact with the devil, drew up a renunciation of Jesus Christ and of the Virgin Mary, sealed it, and gave it to Satan. But having performed the acts of a true penitent, and incessantly implored the mercy of the Virgin, he was pardoned, and the devil was forced to bring him back the deed.

Eutychianus declares that he had always dwelt with Theophilus, and served him, and that he knew this to be matter of fact. Many eminent writers, but of later times, affirm the same. Yet Cave⁴ declares that he *doubts* whether these things be true; like the diffident gentleman, who doubted whether the Adventures of Robinson Crusoe were a real or a feigned history.

Under Justinian flourished Damascius, Simplicius, Eulamius, Priscianus, Hermias, Diogenes, and Isidorus, who were Pagan philosophers. These men hearing a great cha-

¹ i. 586. Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. viii. 138.

² Ibid. vii. 354.

³ Fleury, vii. 410.

⁴ i. 519.

racter of the Persians, and of Chosroës their king, and imagining them to be honestest than the Christians, went to Persia, with a design to settle there. But they found themselves strangely mistaken; and soon discerning that both the great and the small were far more corrupted than their own countrymen, they returned home again to their Christian neighbours. So says Agathias.

Damascius and the rest of these philosophers were crack-brained fanatics, whose system consisted in a medley of Pythagorism, Chaldaïsism, and Platonism, brought into fashion by Plotinus, Porphyry, and Iamblichus, and such sort of visionaries. Damascius is the last, I think, of the writers who professed themselves Pagans^{*}.

A. 565. After Justinian reigned Justinus junior.

‘Whensoever this emperor went forth from the palace, he used to be surrounded with petitioners, complaining of the injuries which they received from the great and the powerful, and begging to be redressed. He often laid this grievance before the senate, to no purpose. At last one of that body arose, and said to the emperor, that if he were made prefect of the city, and had free access to him at all times, and leave from him to exercise his authority, he would put things in such good order, that in a month’s time there should be no more complaints of oppression; and that if he did not perform his engagements he was willing to lose his head. This condition being accepted, a poor woman soon applied to him, and accused a certain person of high rank, who by fraud and calumny had taken from her all her possessions. He sent two citations to the offender, who, instead of appearing before him, went the same day to dine with the emperor, who had invited him. Whereupon the prefect going directly to the emperor’s table, reminded him of the agreement, and, having his permission, seized on the man, brought him to his court of judicature, and, having convicted him, caused him to be scourged, to be shaved, and to be led bareheaded upon an ass through the city; and, confiscating his fortunes, gave them to the injured woman. Having proceeded in the same manner against some other offenders, he spread such a terror, that no more oppressions

^{*} See Cave, i. 552.

were heard of. Then going to the emperor, I have fulfilled, said he, all that I promised; and desire that you would appear in public, and make the experiment. Justin did so, and found all people quiet and contented. He greatly commended the man's behaviour, and made him a patrician, and prefect of the city for life.^y

Some of this wholesome discipline bestowed upon *nobles* and *senators*, who oppress the poor, who will not pay their debts, and whose *privileges* are a public nuisance, would have a good effect—in those nations where such reformation is wanted.

A. 529. Benedict, the father of the Benedictins, founded a monastery, and wrought a multitude of miracles, both living and dead^z.

A. 533. Dionysius Exiguus, in his *Cyclus Paschalis*, introduced a new æra from the birth of Christ.

A. 534. A council held in Gaul excommunicates those who eat meat that had been offered to idols, or animals that had been torn or killed by other beasts, or that had been strangled, or that died a natural death^a.

Facundus, an African bishop, writes thus concerning the eucharist:

‘Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi, quod est in pane et poculo consecrato, corpus ejus et sanguinem dicimus, non quod proprie corpus ejus sit panis, et poculum sanguis; sed quod in se mysterium corporis ejus sanguisque contineat,’ &c.^b

A. 540. A miracle was performed by the cross at Apaméa, of which Evagrius had the happiness to be an eye-witness.

‘When the people of Apaméa had heard that Chosroës king of the Persians had destroyed Antioch, they were in great consternation; and besought their bishop to produce to open view the salutary wood of the cross, that they might behold and adore it for the last time, and by its influences be made partakers of a blessed immortality. The bishop consented, and appointed certain days for showing the cross, that all the neighbourhood might come and receive its be-

^y Petavius, Rat. Temp. i. 361.

^z Fleury, vii. 296. Cave, i. 512.

^a Fleury, vii. 351.

^b Cave, i. 520.

nefits. My parents came upon that occasion, and took me with them, who was then a boy at the grammar-school. Now as often as the bishop walked round the church, carrying the cross aloft in his hands, a great flame followed him, not burning, but flashing, so that the whole place where he stood seemed to be on fire. This was repeated several times; and it was an omen to the Apaméans of their deliverance and future safety. To preserve therefore the memory of this miracle, a representation of it was painted on the cieling of the church^c.

The approach^d of the gods was usually manifested by a sudden light, filling the whole place, as a multitude of Greek and Latin writers testify, both in prose and in verse.

A. 542. On this year, on the 2d day of February, began to be celebrated at Constantinople the festival of the *purification*, called by the Greeks *hypapanté*, or the meeting of Jesus Christ, Symeon, and Anna^e.

A. 552. At this time lived in Palæstine St. Barsanuph, an Ægyptian. He shut himself up in a cell, and was supposed to be still alive there, after fifty years, though no one had seen him all the time.

But the most extraordinary saint was Symeon Salus, who through humility feigned himself to be mad; and who converted abundance of sinners^f.

A. 553. The fifth general council was held at Constantinople^g.

A. 561. The Suevi, who were settled in Gallæcia, and were Arians, were converted, together with their king, by signs and wonders wrought by the reliques of St. Martin^h.

Evagriusⁱ relates the following story of Anatolius, a wicked magistrate, and of the Virgin Mary:

† Anatolius being in prison, and seeing an image of the mother of God which hung up there, bowed himself before her in the posture of a captive and an humble sup-

^c Evagrius, iv. p. 404.

^d See the Commentators on Claudian, Rapt. Pros. i. 8. and Meursius, Eleusin. c. xi.

^e Fleury, vii. 416.

^f Fleury, vii. 473. Cave, i. 524.

^g Cave, i. 560.

^h Fleury, vii. 535.

ⁱ v. 444.

pliant. But she, detesting this impious man, turned her face quite round from him. This dreadful prodigy, and worthy of eternal memory, was seen and reported by all who were in prison. The mother of God appeared also in the day-time to many of the faithful, stirring them up against Anatolius, and declaring that her Son had been insulted by him,' &c.

This seems to have been copied from Virgil :

‘ Interea ad templum non æquæ Palladis ibant
Crinibus Iliades passis,—
Suppliciter tristes, et tunsæ pectora palmis.
Diva solo fixos oculos *aversa* tenebat.’

A great revolution happened in Persia. Hormisdas III., who began to reign in 578, by his wickedness and bad conduct ruined in four years time a kingdom which his illustrious father had established with the labour of forty years. He was deposed and imprisoned, and then put to death by his own son, who had been chosen king^k.

A. 582. Saint Euphemia had a splendid church dedicated to her name at Chalcedon, where her body wrought perpetual wonders.

‘ At the east end of the church there is a magnificent shrine made of silver, and elegantly chased, wherein lie the reliques of this holy martyr. The miracles which from time to time are wrought by her are known of all. She appears frequently in dreams to the bishops of that city, or to other pious persons who are used to repair to her church, and orders them to come thither to the *vintage*. When this is made known to the emperor and the royal family, to the patriarch, and to the people, they all flock to the temple, to be partakers of these holy mysteries. Then the bishop of Constantinople and the clergy approach the shrine. On the left side of this box there is a small opening with a cover to it. Through this hole they thrust in an iron rod, with a sponge at the end ; and when they draw it back, it is full of coagulated blood ; at the sight of which the people praise and worship God. So great is the quantity of blood which is thus extracted, that it not only sufficeth for

^k Hist. de l'Acad. iv. 508.

all who are present, but some portion of it may be sent to all the faithful, all the world over, who desire it. This blood always lasts the same, never changing colour; and the miracle is performed, not at any certain time, but according to the merits of the bishop. For, as it is reported, if he be a prelate of eminent piety, this miracle is frequent; if he be not a man of such a character, it is withholden, and seldom granted.

‘Let me add to this another miracle, which is uniform and uninterrupted, and depends not upon the good or bad conduct of men. Whosoever approaches at any time to the shrine, smells a sweet odour, which surpasseth all others, and resembles nothing that either nature or art produces; and by its singularity declares the extraordinary virtue of those sacred reliques¹.’

John the *Faster*, bishop of Constantinople, took the title of *Patriarch Oecumenic*, at which pope Pelagius II. was highly provoked, and for which Baronius heartily abuses poor John. The patriarchs of Constantinople are so passionate fond of this *œcumenical* title, that they still retain it in the midst of their oppression under the Turkish government.

A. 583. Leovigildus, king of Spain, was of the Arian sect, and a prince of no bad character. His son Hermenigildus rebelled against him, and Baronius commends him for it; ‘Because,’ says he, ‘his father was a heretic.’ What cursed divinity is this! Be wise now therefore, O ye kings! be learned, ye that are the judges of the earth! Beware of such teachers, and put it out of their power to do you mischief.

Sandius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*^m, produces from Mariana a pathetic epistle from this king to his unnatural son. But no man in those days could write it; and he must be a poor critic who sees not that it is the handy-work of Mariana. Here it is:

‘Coram maluisssem, si per te licitum esset, quam per literas, de re tota disputare; quid enim à te præsens non impetrassem, sive regia auctoritate præciperem, sive paterno jure castigarem? Beneficia certe in memoriam revocarem,

¹ Evagrius, ii. 285.

^m P. 335.

quæ tu in ludibrium vertere maluisti. A teneris, nimia fortassis indulgentia, in spem Gothorum regni diligenter alui : confirmata ætate, antequam postulares, majora quam sperares delata sunt. Dedi sceptrum, ut cum auctoritate adjutorem haberem ; non ut te, externasque gentes, cum quibus fœdus inire paras, imperio me adversum animarem. Novo exemplo appellavi regem, ut consortio potestatis contentus, primas patri partes dares ; atque in hoc ætatis flexu esses : seni præsidio æque ac solatio. Siquid est quod amplius cupias, patri explica ; sin autem supra ætatem, supra consuetudinem, supra merita tibi sunt omnia tributa, cur aut ingratus impie, aut impius sceleratusque crudeliter circumscribis patrem ? An senis mortem exspectare grave fuit ? tantique fueruntⁿ pauci anni, quot hæc ætas recipit ? An cum fratre communicatam potestatem invidebas ? de quo me arbitro disceptare æquum fuit. Sed nimirum regnandi ambitio omnes naturæ leges violat, resolvitque ea quæ perpetua necessitate constricta sunt. At religionem causarum : in quo te video non humana jura tantum, sed divina etiam evertere, et in caput tuum Dei vindictam provocare. Itane ab ea religione tuo arbitratu discedas, cujus cultu propagando nomen Gothicum auctum opibus, atque potentia amplificatum est ? An majorum, quæ sacrosancta esse debuit, auctoritatem contemnas ? Novæ religionis vanitatem vel eo potissimum considerare potuisti, quod filium a patre sejungat, et summæ caritatis nomina odio plusquam *paterno*^o, atque invidia labefactet. Ego Hermenigilde pro patris jure impero, et pro ætate, qua major sum, tibi consulo, revoca ad sobrietatem animum, positaque noxiarum rerum cupiditate quiesce : sic enim facile eorum quæ commissa sunt hactenus venia dabitur. Si recusas, cogisque arma capere, næ tu frustra paternam misericordiam re desperata implorabis.⁷

Thus Mariana, as an historian, takes the part of the father ; whilst, as a Jesuit, he should have taken the part of the son.

ⁿ Taken from Epist. xvi. of Brutus to Cicero :

⁷ Valde care æstimas tot annos quot ista ætas recipit, si propter eam caussam, &c.

^o This is unintelligible. Should it be *Vatiniano* ? *Odium vatinianum* is a known proverb.

Leovigildus called a council of his Arian prelates; in which it was determined that this form should be used; 'Glory be to the Father, by the Son, and in the Holy Ghost.'

Chilperic, king of the Franks, would needs meddle with theological subjects; and wrote a piece, to command that the holy Trinity should be called *God*, without any distinction of *persons*; for that the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, were one and the same. This was a revival of Sabellianism, though perhaps it was more than the king knew. But this doctrine would not go down with his subjects, and he was forced to desist. He was as eminent a grammarian as a divine, and projected to reform the antient orthography, and add new letters to the alphabet. But this scheme also was rejected^P.

Theodorus, a monk and a saint of those days, had two cages made for himself, one of iron for the summer, and one of wood for the winter; both without a top. In these he dwelt, loaded all over with iron, having a coat of mail, a cross, a belt, shoes, and gloves, all of iron. He wrought many miracles, and made many disciples^Q.

A. 585. The council of Maçon made several canons. One of them is droll, and remarkable. It recommends the neglected duty of hospitality to bishops; and orders that they shall not keep mastiffs to worry beggars.

An assassin attempted to kill Gontran, king of the Franks, in a church. But because the villain was seized in the church, the king gave him his life, in reverence to that sanctuary^r.

A. 590. St. Columbanus was an Irishman, a monk, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, who went and settled in France. He found a cavern there, inhabited by a bear. He sent away the bear, and took it for his own use, and caused a fountain to spring up close by it.

The saint should not have turned the poor bear out of his own house, to which he had a right by *possession* and *prescription*, which, in the law is nine points of ten towards settling a property. The same den might have held them both, and they would have been pretty company.

^P Fleury, vii. 612.

^Q Fleury, vii. 618. 621.

^r Fleury, vii. 633.

Sabas, a monk and an abbot, towards the beginning of this century, had retired to Scythopolis, to a cavern which was inhabited by a huge lion, who of his own accord quitted it to the saint. Here there seems to have been no wrong done. '*Volenti non fit injuria.*'

Amongst the rules of Columbanus for the government of monasteries, the punishment inflicted upon faulty monks was whipping; six stripes for slighter offences; and sometimes two hundred, but not more than twenty-five at a time.

Monasteries were little monarchies, where the superiors were most despotic rulers.

'*Præfectura domus Sicula non mitior aula.*'

It is strange how men could bend their minds to such sordid and abject servility; and how a crazy piety could extinguish the love of liberty, which often is as strong as the love of life:

————— '*qui mente novissimus exit,*
Lucis amor.'

All things considered, it was perhaps less irksome to live the life of a hermit in a solitary den, than to submit to the humours of a bigot, a fanatic, and a merciless tyrant^s.

Pope Gregory the Great, called Saint Gregory, was remarkable for many things; for exalting his own authority; for running down human learning^t and polite literature; for burning classic authors; for patronizing ignorance and stupidity; for persecuting heretics; for flattering the most execrable princes; and for relating a multitude of absurd, monstrous, and ridiculous lies, called miracles. He was an ambitious insolent prelate, under the mask of humility.

The emperor Phocas, to whom Gregory paid his court, was, according to Theophylactus Simocatta, and other historians in general, the vilest of vile wretches.

Gregory is said to have been very liberal and hospitable. He every day ordered twelve strangers to be invited to his

^s See Fleury, vii. 174. viii. 22. 24.

^t Dallæus de Usu Patrum, p. 243.

table; amongst whom it is reported that he once received his guardian angel, and once Jesus Christ himself.

He and Eutychius, the patriarch of Constantinople, had a curious dispute, Whether the bodies of the righteous, after the resurrection, should be solid or thinner than the air? Gregory was for the *palpability*, and Eutychius for the *impalpability*; and the dispute ended, as it is to be supposed, in a grievous quarrel.

‘Gregory, in his Dialogues,’ says father Simon, ‘hath imitated the style and manner of the monks of his time. This holy man seems to have flourished in the golden age, so celebrated by the mythologists, when the beasts had the use of speech, and held conversations with men.’

‘His Dialogues,’ says Fleury, ‘are a work which modern critics have thought worthy of their censures, and even of their contempt. It is true that he had turned his mind more to moral reflections, and to the conduct of affairs, than to erudition and speculative sciences. It is therefore no wonder that he followed the taste of his times, in collecting and relating miraculous facts. Besides, he had not for antagonists philosophical men, who attacked religion in an argumentative way. There were hardly any Pagans then, except peasants, country-slaves, and barbarous soldiers, who are more moved by miraculous stories than by the most conclusive syllogisms. All that Gregory thought necessary, was to relate those wonders which he judged to be best supported, after having used all possible precautions. His intention was upright; it was to confirm the faith of the weak and wavering concerning the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the intercession of the saints, the veneration of reliques, the profitableness of prayers for the dead, and particularly of the holy sacrifice, &c. Accordingly, these Dialogues were at first received with wonderful applause, and continued to be held in esteem for eight or nine hundred years.’—

‘The empress Constantina asked of St. Gregory the head of St. Paul, or some part of his body, to put in the church which they were building at Constantinople in honour to this apostle. Gregory sent her this answer :

‘You ask of me what I dare not and cannot do. For

the bodies of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul are so formidable by their miracles, that none can approach them, even to pray, without being seized with great terror. My predecessor having attempted to change a silver ornament which was over the body of St. Peter, though at the distance of fifteen feet, had a frightful vision. I myself wanted to repair something near the body of St. Paul, and we were obliged to dig near the sepulchre. The superior of the place found some bones, which yet did not touch the sepulchre, and moved them to another place. After having seen a terrible apparition, he died suddenly. My predecessor undertook also to make some repairs near the body of St. Laurence. As they were digging, without knowing precisely the place where he lay, they happened to open his sepulchre; but the monks and others who were at the work, because they had seen the sacred body, though they did not touch it, died within ten days.

‘Know then, madam, that when the Romans give any reliques of saints, they never touch the bodies; they only put in a box a piece of linen, which they place near the holy body. Then it is withdrawn, and shut up with due veneration in the church which is to be dedicated; and then as many miracles^u are wrought by it as if the body itself were there. In the time of St. Leo, some Greeks doubting of the virtue of such reliques, he called for a pair of scissars, and cut the linen, and blood issued out, as our ancestors assure us. For not only at Rome, but in all the West, it is accounted a sacrilegious thing to touch the bodies of saints. We are therefore much astonished at the custom of the Greeks, to take away the bones of saints, and we hardly know how to believe it. Some Greek monks, who came here about two years ago, digged up in the night some dead bodies in a field near St. Paul’s church, and seized on the bones. Being taken in the fact, and examined, they confessed that they intended to carry those bones as reliques to Greece.

‘But not to frustrate your pious desire, I will send you some portion of the chains which St. Paul wore, and which work many miracles, if however I be able to file off any.

^u This is undoubtedly true.

These filings are often begged; and the bishop applied the file, and sometimes he immediately gets the filings, at other times he labours in vain.'

'Gregory, in an epistle to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, says; I have been informed that, seeing some persons worshipping the images in the church, you broke those images, and cast them out. I commend your zeal in not suffering things made with hands to be adored: but I think you should not have broken the images. Images and pictures are put in churches, that they who are not able to read, may see upon the walls what they cannot learn from books. You should therefore have preserved them, and have exhorted the people not to commit sin by worshipping them.

'Serenus was not satisfied with this letter, and made a doubt whether it came from the pope, who wrote him a second, in which he says; Tell me, my brother, have you heard of any bishop who hath done what you did? This single consideration, should it not have checked you from endeavouring to appear the only wise and pious man of them all? I am informed that you have so scandalized your own flock, that most of them have separated themselves from your communion. Send for them, and show them from the holy Scriptures that it is not lawful to adore things made by men; tell them that this abuse of images raised your indignation, and caused you to destroy them. Let them know, that if they desire to have images in the churches for their edification, for which they were antiently designed, you willingly consent to it. Thus you will pacify them, and bring them back to your communion. If any one will make images, forbid him not: only suffer them not to be adored. The sight of historical pictures ought to excite in them religious compunction; but they must not bow down, except to adore the holy Trinity. I say all this for the love which I bear to the church, not to weaken your zeal, but to encourage you in your duty.'—

'At the holy communion, the people used then to bring their own bread, which was a small, round, flat cake. A Roman lady receiving the communion once from the hand of Gregory, and hearing him say the usual words, could not forbear smiling when he called that the body of Jesus Christ, which she had made with her own hands.

Paulus Diaconus adds, that the saint, perceiving her behaviour, took this bread out of her hands, and, having prayed over it, showed it to her turned into flesh, in the sight of all the people^x.

This pontiff was favourable to the Jews, and protected them from the rage of some hot-headed Christians.

Fleury and Cave represent Gregory in as favourable a manner as they could. In scouring an Æthiopian nothing is lost, except pains and soap^y.

A. 587. Recaredus, king of the Visigoths, forsook Arianism.

‘He converted the Arian bishops, and obliged them to become Catholics, more by *reason* than *authority*, and with them the whole nation of the Visigoths in Spain; not suffering any heretic to serve in his army, or to hold any post in the state.—Thus heresy was abolished in Spain, where it had prevailed from the beginning of the fifth century, for about one hundred and eighty years^z.’

It appears that in those days the Arian clergy were generally married men, and lived with their wives, whilst the orthodox were strenuous contenders for the celibacy of the clergy. It is to be supposed that some of these ecclesiastics humbly contented themselves with common strumpets, or with other men’s wives.

It appears also that they who would not quit their Arianism were to be instructed by excommunications, deprivation of places, confiscations, banishments, &c.; which, with Fleury’s leave, seems to have savoured more of *authority* than of *ratiocination*.

A. 591. Vulfilaic, a monk of Lombardy, had a pillar erected for him at Treves, and stood upon it barefoot, enduring great hardship in the winter. The bishops therefore compelled him to come down, and to live like other monks, telling him that the severity of the climate would not permit him to imitate the Great Symeon of Antioch. He obeyed his superiors, but with tears and reluctance. And this,

^x Fleury.

^y See Barbeyrac, p. 331. Bayle, *Gregoire*, i. Cave, i. 543. Fleury, vii. 606. viii. 40. 49. 84. 91. 168.

^z Fleury, vii. 643. 646. 649.

says Fleury^a, is the only instance that we know of a *Stylites*, a *pillar-monk*, in the western world.

The difference between the eastern and the western monks was, that the first were usually the greater fanatics, and the second the greater knaves.

An impostor and madman showed himself in Gaul, who called himself the Christ, and had with him a woman whom he called Mary. He acted the prophet and the worker of miracles, seduced a multitude of people, and even many ecclesiastics, and drew together three thousand men, with whom he robbed passengers in the highways. He went to fight a bishop, and was slain by one of the bishop's soldiers. Mary was taken, and put to the rack, and confessed the imposture. Yet this did not undeceive his followers. Many such religious ruffians arose in Gaul in those days^b.

At this time died the famous romancer, Gregory of Tours. The amazing number of miracles which he relates, says Fleury^c, shows that he had more credulity than critical discernment; and his style, as he himself acknowledges, is infected with the barbarity of the age in which he lived.

A. 592. 'A council held in Spain orders that all the reliques found amongst the Arians shall be presented to the bishops, and undergo the trial of fire. This seems to show that it was then an opinion that true reliques could not be consumed^d.'

The method, if fairly practised, was certainly most excellent; and all sorts of reliques should be put to the same trial; though Fleury doth not say so. But, in following times, these pretended experiments gave occasion to many a pious fraud^e.

The Britannic church, according to the venerable Bede, though truly Catholic at this time, yet differed in certain things from the practice of the Roman church, as in the celebration of Easter, wherein it followed the tradition of the eastern Christians, and in some baptismal rites. Augustin the monk, commonly called St. Austin, attempted to change those rites, and also to abolish the privileges of the metro-

^a viii. 54.

^b Fleury, viii. 55.

^c viii. 57.

^d Fleury, viii. 145.

^e Fleury, xii. 420.

politans of the nation. The British bishops resisted him boldly and justly, and would not acknowledge the usurper for their archbishop. The Christianity which this pretended apostle and sanctified ruffian taught us, seemed to consist principally in two things, in keeping Easter upon a proper day, and in being slaves to our sovereign lord god the pope, and to Austin his deputy and vicegerent. Such were the boasted blessings and benefits which we received from the mission and ministry of this most audacious and insolent monk. He is strongly suspected, as Du Pin acknowledges, of having excited the Saxons to fall upon the Britons, and to cut the throats of twelve hundred monks of Bangor^f.

Paulus Warnefridus says of the Langobardi, at this time ;

‘It was a wonderful thing, that in their kingdom there were no thefts, no robberies, no oppression, no secret fraud, no open violence, but every one travelled secure and without fear^g.’

Happy are the people that are in such a case ! but after all, the account is scarcely credible.

A. 593. Symeon Stylites junior lived sixty-eight years, first upon one pillar, and then upon another. He wrought many miracles, as Evagrius testifies. Amandus, another saint of those days, was as much a fanatic as Symeon, and had also the same miraculous powers.

About the close of this century the schism of the Donatists died away, and there is no further mention made of it. Arianism also declined apace. But the *Jacobites* (so called from one *Jacobus* a bishop) or *Monophysitæ* began to flourish in the East ; where they continue to this day. They are the progeny of the Eutychians, who were opposite to the Nestorians.

Then also arose the sect of *Tritheists* (for so they were called), who taught that the Father, Son, and Spirit were three coequal distinct Beings, who partook of one common undivided nature. Joannes Philoponus is accounted by many to have been the author of this sect^h.

^f Bibl. Univ. vii. Basnage, iii. 933. Cave, i. 549. 601. Du Pin, vi. 47. Rapin, i. 79. Stillingfleet, v. 669.

^g P. 810. edit. Grot.

^h Mosheim, p. 251—256. Cave, i. 567.

A. 601. In this seventh century, Christianity was propagated in China by the Nestorians; and the Valdenses, who abhorred the papal usurpations, are supposed to have settled themselves in the valleys of Piedmont. Monastery flourished prodigiously, and the monks and popes were in the firmest union.

As to true religion, here is the sum and substance of it, as it is drawn up for us by Eligius, one of the principal saints of that age.

‘He is a good Christian who goes frequently to church, and makes his oblations at God’s altar; who never tastes of his own fruits till he hath presented some to God; who for many days before the solemn festivals observes strict chastity though he be married, that he may approach the altar with a safe conscience; lastly, who can repeat the creed and the Lord’s prayer.—Redeem your souls from punishment, whilst you have it in your power; offer your tithes and free gifts; contribute towards the luminaries in holy places; repair frequently to church; and humbly implore the protection of the saints. If you observe these things, you may appear boldly at God’s tribunal in the day of judgment, and say, Give, Lord, according as we have given!’

A. 608. *Mahomet* or *Mohammed*, being forty years of age, set himself up for a prophet, and began to establish his religion.

A. 633. The fourth council of Toledo made seventy-five canons; of which the first is a profession of faith concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation; in which it is expressly said that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son.

This council, says Fleury^k, is the first in which the bishops take upon themselves a share in the administration of the civil government.

Rotharis, king of the Lombards, was remarkable for valour, and for the love of justice. He was an Arian, and almost all the cities in his dominions had two bishops, the one an Arian, the other a Consubstantialist; which shows the moderation of Rotharis.

^k Mosheim, p. 257. 267. 269.

^k viii. 368, 369.

This prince drew up in writing the laws of the Lombards, seventy-seven years after their entrance into Italy¹.

A. 638. 'Clovis II. is the first of the French kings who hath been charged with insanity. The monk of St. Denis, author of this fable, ascribes his distemper to an imprudent devotion, which made him carry off a bone from the arm of St. Denis; *instigante diabolò*, says the continuator of Aimoin. At that instant thick darkness was spread over the church; the king lost his senses; and to recover the health of his mind he gave certain lands to the church of the saint; he even sent back the relique, which he enclosed in a golden reliquary, covered with precious stones. These donations softened the saint in some degree, and the prince had lucid intervals, but never recovered completely, and died two years afterwards.

'To unriddle this marvellous story, it may suffice to learn from Aimoin, that in a dreadful famine with which France was visited, this religious prince sold the covering of the shrine of St. Denis, which was of gold. And though, by his order, the price for which it was sold was remitted to the abbot of St. Denis, to be distributed to the poor, yet the monks of that house never forgave this prince an act of charity which he exercised at their expense, and which might be a bad precedent.

'At this time, says Du Tillet, there was in France a very sore famine, for the relief of which Clovis took away the gold and silver with which Dagobert had sumptuously decorated the church of St. Denis, and by an act of humanity distributed it amongst the poor. He also took the treasure which was there, and the shrines and coffers; and breaking an arm of St. Denis, he carried that away also; for which deed it is said that by a divine judgment he went mad, and continued so the rest of his life.

'Certainly, as my author goes on, if he did these things for the relief of the poor and helpless, he did wisely, and like a good man; though they put a story about that he lost his senses; fearing lest princes afterwards should follow his example, when they wanted the riches of the church, to assist the poor, or to assist themselves.

¹ Fleury, viii. 360. 402.

‘It is indeed highly probable that the monks, almost the only historians of those days, and to whom miracles cost nothing, in times of ignorance, thought it expedient to terrify the successors of Clovis by the report of so dreadful a punishment. In like manner the French ecclesiastics treated the memory of Charles Martel,’ &c.^m

Vertot shows that the later kings of France, of the first race, were unjustly represented as idiots, sluggards, and lunatics, by monks, bigots, party-writers, and political knaves, who flattered the powers then in beingⁿ.

A. 644. From a letter of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, it appears that the princes in those times took all possible care that no councils should be held in their dominions without their permission^o.

A. 648. Theodorus the pope condemned and deposed Paul, the patriarch of Constantinople. He also anathematized Pyrrhus, a Monothelete; and calling for the chalice, he dipped a pen in the consecrated wine, and with it subscribed to his condemnation. This was a new trick of profane piety, which was afterwards imitated by others.

The council of Constantinople^p condemned and deposed Photius with the same ceremony. Nicetas says, ‘Subscribunt autem damnationi Photii chirographo non simplici atramento, sed, horrendum dictu, ut ab his qui id norunt accepi, ipso videlicet Salvatoris sanguine calamus tingentes.’

Carolus Calvus^q made a treaty of peace with Bernard, count of Barcelona, which was signed by the king and the count *sanguine eucharistico*^r.

A. 649. The council of Lateran was held against the Monotheletes. Pope Martin, called St. Martin, was president, and anathematized Paul of Constantinople; for which exploit this insolent pope lost his life, but got a place in the calendar amongst the saints and martyrs. He also excommunicated Paul of Thessalonica, amongst other reasons, because he would not acknowledge himself the subject and the vicar of the Roman pontiff.

^m Vertot.

ⁿ Mem. de l'Acad. vi. 516.

^o Fleury, viii. 431.

^p A. 869.

^q A. 854.

^r See Dallæus, De Cult. Lat. vii. 954.

‘Since the conquest of the Musulmans, the churches of Ægypt and of the East were in a deplorable condition. Many were without pastors, and those who remained were mostly heretics. For, besides the Monotheletes, all the ancient heretics appeared openly, as the power of the Greeks declined, the Nestorians in Syria, the Jacobites or Eutychians in Ægypt. The Mahometans cared very little what sect their Christian subjects embraced. Only they suspected those most who held communion with the sees of Constantinople and of Rome, as secret friends to the emperor, their principal enemy^s.’

The meaning of this seems to be, that by the conquests of the Mahometans the orthodox Christians could not persecute the heterodox in the East, as they had been used to do. A sad thing, truly!

A. 650. Amri, a Saracen general, took Alexandria. There was a certain grammarian who begged of him all the books in the Alexandrian library which related to philosophy. The general thought it necessary to consult the calif Omar; and the calif ordered the whole library to be destroyed. The books therefore were sent to all the baths of the city, and served as fuel to heat them for six months. The prodigious number of these volumes may be inferred from the time which was taken up in consuming them, and from the number of the baths amongst which they were distributed, which are said to have been forty thousand^t.

‘A. 651. Isdegerdes, the last king of the Persians, was slain; and that empire destroyed, after having lasted four hundred and twenty-five years, from the year 226, in which Artaxerxes, or Ardchir, overthrew the empire of the Parthians. With the power of the Persians was abolished the religion of the *magi*, who were^u fire-worshippers. Those of this sect who would not embrace Mahometism retired into India, where some of them are still to be found^x.’

‘A. 656. The Monotheletes at Constantinople condemned Maximus the abbot and two of his disciples, who would not conform to their opinions, to be cruelly whipped, and to have their tongues and their right hands cut off.

^s Fleury, viii. 460—486.

^t Mem. de l'Acad. xiii. 615.

^u or were supposed to be.

^x Fleury, viii. 582.

Hence it appears that the Monotheletes were as wicked wretches as their persecutors the Duotheletes.

The Monothelites, or Monotheletes, Monotheletæ, were so named, because they held the union of the two natures in Christ to be such, that he had only one *will* and one *operation*, which they called *theandric*^y.

A. 664. A conference was held before Osui, king of Northumberland, about that most important point, the time of keeping Easter. The king, having learned from the disputants on what day it was kept by St. Peter, said; Hath Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven? They answered, Yes. Then, said the king, I will observe the practice of the door-keeper of heaven, lest when I go and knock there, he should not let me in^z.

A. 668. At this time Callinicus invented the *ignis Græcus*. The Saracens or Musulmans attacked Constantinople at different times for seven years together, with a great fleet; and in the year 673 many of their ships were consumed by this *fire*, which was made of naphtha, and burned in the water^a.

A. 669. A synod was held at Autun by St. Leger.—Its first canon commands the clergy to get by heart the Athanasian Creed. No easy task.

This St. Leger, not long afterwards, had his eyes put out, and his lips and tongue cut off. He was healed of his wounds, and spake as plainly as he did before; which passed for a miracle^b.

A. 672. This year was born the venerable Bede, an Englishman, and an honour to our country^c.

A. 675. The council of Toledo was obliged to make canons, to restrain in some measure the holy bishops of those times, who were openly guilty of robberies, murders, assassinations, fornications, adulteries, and such sort of *bagatelles*:

The council of Prague, at the same time, censured those bishops who whipped their presbyters, abbots, and deacons, as so many slaves or dogs; and who compelled the deacons

^y Fleury, viii. 555.

^z Fleury, viii. 593.

^a Fleury, viii. 605. ix. 51.

^b Fleury, viii. 611. 641.

^c Cave, i. 612.

to do the office of chairmen to the bishop, and carry him on their shoulders.

This council also decrees that the eucharistic bread shall not be dipped in the wine; but that the two kinds shall be given apart, and the wine mixed with water^d.

A. 678. Sebbi, the king of Essex, was so piously disposed, that he would have embraced a monastic life, if his wife would have consented. Being seized with the distemper of which he died, he sent for the bishop of London, and received from him, together with his benediction, the monastic habit which he had so much desired. This, says Fleury^e, is the first example that I have found of the devotion, so frequent in later ages, of dying in the garb of a monk.

A. 679. A young man in England, called Imma, was wounded, and left as dead in the field of battle. Being found by the enemies, he was healed, and kept prisoner, and chained in the night-time, lest he should escape. He had a brother, one Tunna, priest and abbot of a monastery, who, thinking him dead, went in search of the body; and, having found one which he took to be his brother's, carried it to his monastery, buried it decently, and frequently said mass for the deliverance of his soul. The living brother perceived the effect of it; for he often found himself released from his bonds after the third hour, which was the hour of mass. The count who had him prisoner asked him if he had a *character*. He answered, No; but, said he, I have a brother a priest, who thinking me to be dead, often says mass for me; and if I were in the other world, my soul would be released from Purgatory by his prayers. After he was quite cured, the count sold him to another, who also could not keep him confined; for, though they tied him with different sorts of chains, he used to be set free at the same hour. So his last master dismissed him upon his parole, and he paid his ransom according to his promise. Returning to his brother, he learned from him that the times when he had been untied and received refreshment and alleviation of his pain, were the times when mass was said for him. This excited several persons to pray, to give

^d Fleury, viii. 630—632.

^e ix. 6.

alms, and to offer the holy sacrifice for their deceased friends. The venerable Bede, who is the relater of this story, says that he had learned it from one of those who had heard it from the man's own mouth.

At this time the art of making glass was brought into England^f.

A. 681. The sixth general council of Constantinople persecuted and condemned the Monotheletes, and anathematized the deceased pope Honorius, as having been guilty of the same heresy. Thus we have a vicar of Jesus Christ, and an infallible head of the church, condemned by a general council for the crime of heresy; that is, for a speculative notion which the holy Catholic church of Rome still accounts to be heresy.

The persecuted Monotheletes settled about mount Libanus, and are now called *Maronites*, though they renounce *Monotheism*^g.

Polychronius, an aged ecclesiastic, and a Monothelete, was summoned before this council, and was ordered to declare his faith. He answered, I will show my faith by my works, by declaring it over a dead man, and raising him to life. The council said; We will get you a dead man: produce your confession of faith. Polychronius presented a sealed paper, containing an account of some visions which he had seen, and also the doctrine of the Monotheletes; which was read. The council and the magistrates ordered that the trial should be made in a public place. The dead man was brought, and Polychronius laid his confession of faith upon his body, whispered in his ear for several hours, and at last said, I cannot raise this dead man. The people shouted, Anathema to the new Simon Magus, to Polychronius the impostor! Then the council called upon him to declare whether he would confess two wills and two operations in Christ. He answered; I confess what I have written: I believe one will, and one theandric operation in Christ; and I say nothing else. The council replied; Since Polychronius hath persevered in his error to his old age, and now, being advertised by us, hath tempted the Holy Ghost,

^f Fleury, ix. 6. 19.

^g Fleury, ix. 49. Mosheim, p. 277. Cave, Honorius I. 578. 606.

composing a writing full of blasphemies, and impudently declaring that he would raise a dead man, we anathematize him, and order that as a manifest heretic and impostor he be deprived of his rank and sacerdotal function. Then they all cried out; Anathema to Polychronius! The Trinity hath deposed him^h.

What more they did to the poor man is not recorded. A *mad-house* was the properest place for him, and for those who anathematized him, and the place which most resembled the *general councils* of those days.

Ildefonsus wrote a sort of epitome of divinity; from which it appears that transubstantiation was then unknown in the Latin church, and that the use of the holy Scriptures was permitted to all personsⁱ.

The addition to the Nicene Creed of *Filioque* was projected in the seventh century, and not received by the Latin church before the ninth^k.

A council was held at Toledo, and gave the first example of bishops presuming to release subjects from their oath of allegiance to their kings, and to forbid kings the exercise of temporal jurisdiction, whilst they were condemned to perform penance^l.

A. 682. Pope Leo II. anathematized, amongst other heretics, his predecessor Honorius^m.

A. 683. Another council of Toledo made canons concerning the temporal rights of princes and subjects.

Nothing, says Fleuryⁿ, but the consent of the king and the nobles can authorise bishops to make such ordinances.

A. 690. Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury, wrote a summary of the discipline of the Greeks and Latins; in which was this rule:

None may travel on Sundays in a boat, or a chariot, or on horseback, or bake any bread; none may eat blood, or things strangled^o.

A. 692. The Constantinopolitan council, called in *Trullo*, whose canons were observed always afterwards by the Greek church, is favourable to the marriage of the

^h Fleury, ix. 49. 57.

ⁱ Mosheim, p. 270.

^k Cave, i. 464.

^l Fleury, ix. 70.

^m Fleury, ix. 67.

ⁿ ix. 72.

^o Fleury, ix. 102.

clergy, allowing presbyters and deacons who had wives to keep them, and to cohabit with them.

The Papists reject this council, as for other good reasons, so because it permits marriage to the clergy, condemns the Saturday's fast, forbids things strangled and blood, will not suffer Christ to be painted in the form of a lamb; and, which is far worse than all the rest, equals the bishop of Constantinople to the bishop of Rome. Therefore Baronius and Binius call it *Conciliabulum*, *Pseudo-synodum*, *Synodum erraticam*, *Conventum malignantium*, *Synagoga Diaboli*, and so forth^p.

A. 694. The Spanish Jews being charged with treason against the state, the council of Toledo ordered that they should be stripped of all their possessions, and made slaves for ever; and distributed to the Christians, who should not permit them to exercise their religion, and should take their children from them at seven years of age, educate them in the Christian faith, and marry them to Christians^q.

A. 696. The Musulmans took Carthage and other neighbouring cities, and put an end to the Roman power in Afric, which had lasted 850 years.

The califs, after they had made themselves masters of Afric, destroyed all the books which they could find there, lest, if they were studied, the Mahometan religion might be exposed and receive detriment; a method certainly shorter and more commodious than that of the *indices expurgatorii*^r.

Renaudot treats largely of the introduction of Christianity in China, so early as the seventh century, by the Nestorians of Persia, to whom he ascribes the famous inscription which was found in the year 1625 at Sigangfu, a city of the province of Xsensu. In this inscription is contained, in the Chinese language, a confession of faith, according to the Nestorian system; and the words employed in it to express the names of God, and of Jesus Christ, are Syriac, written only in Chinese characters, their language furnishing none proper to express them^s.

Now began the appointment of bishops *in partibus in-*

^p Fleury, ix. 110. Mosheim, p. 280. Cave, i. 608.

^q Fleury, ix. 125.

^r Bibl. Univ. ii. 344.

^s Hist. de l'Acad. iii. 590.

fidelium, whom the Mahometans and the Pagans would not permit to exercise their episcopal office in their dioceses.

A. 701. 'The authority and veneration of the bishops and the clergy was far more extensive and prevalent in the West than in the East. The reason of this will be evident to those who consider well the state and the manners of those barbarous nations, then ruling in Europe, to which they had been accustomed before their conversion to Christianity. They had all been under the government of their own priests, and had never undertaken any thing considerable in the military or the civil way without their permission. When they became Christians, they transferred these great powers of their former priests to the Christian clergy; whilst, on the other hand, the bishops and presbyters were very artful and sedulous to maintain these privileges. Hence arose that amazing authority of ecclesiastics in Europe, which was also strengthened by an immense accession of riches.

'This temporal prosperity of the clergy began with its head, the Roman pontiff, and thence was diffused by degrees, and descended to the bishops, the priests, and the monastic families. For, in the opinion of the barbarous nations which embraced Christianity, the pope succeeded to the rights and powers of the high-priest of the Druids, or of the sovereign pontiff, whose authority had been incredible, and as head of the church had a title to the same honours. What these nations were thus disposed to grant, the bishop of Rome was as willing to claim; and that it might not be taken from him in subsequent times and changes, he grounded it upon pretended reasons drawn from the Old and New Testament. Hence arose that immoderate authority of the pope in this century, and his jurisdiction even as to things temporal and to civil government; which was still further increased and confirmed by a most pernicious opinion, the parent of so many wars and calamities, that he who was excommunicated by popes and by prelates forfeited all the rights not only of a citizen but of a human creature. This notion, borrowed also from Pagan superstition, crept into the church, to the unspeakable detriment of all Europe.'

To this may be added the policy, the false policy, as the

† Mosheim, p. 291.

event showed, of emperors and princes, who thought they might more safely lodge great power in the hands of popes and prelates than in those of their turbulent nobles, and govern their subjects more easily by the assistance of ecclesiastics, whose execrations and excommunications were revered and feared by the stupid world.

To the numerous conformities which have been observed between Pagan and Christian superstition, may be added the old custom of bequeathing legacies to the gods. The Roman laws, to keep this bigotry in some bounds, excluded several upstart gods and goddesses from inheriting such donations.

‘Deos heredes instituere non possumus, præter eos quos senatus-consultis et constitutionibus principum instituere concessum est; sicuti Jovem Tarpeium,’ &c.^u

Christians made the same gifts to their *saints*; and Justus Lipsius left his furred gown to the Virgin Mary; ‘to keep her and her miracles warm,’ as some profane jester observed.

The old sects, though so often repressed by the laws, as those of the Arians, Manichæans, and Marcionites, acquired new strength in the East, and drew over many converts, whilst the empire of the Greeks was perpetually struggling with its adversaries, and involved in calamities. The Monothelites arose again in many places; the condition of the Nestorians and of the Monophysitæ was tolerably quiet under the government of the Arabs; nor did they want strength to harass the Greeks, their inveterate foes, and to propagate their own doctrines. Even in Europe, amongst the barbarous people who had been converted to Christianity, there were Arians to be found^x.

A. 704. It was the opinion in those days that the Virgin Mary died and was buried at Jerusalem. The doctrine of her resurrection and assumption was not then broached^y.

A. 713. The condition of the eastern empire was most deplorable. The perpetual revolutions in placing and displacing emperors weakened the government; learning was

^u Ulpian. See Schulting, Jurispr. Ante-Justin.

^x Mosheim, p. 291.

^y Fleury, ix. 145.

neglected ; the art military was sunk ; murders, captivities, and the loss of cities was frequent ; the enemies ravaged the country ; and the Musulmans came up to the very gates of Constantinople.

The Saracens invaded Spain, and destroyed the empire of the Visigoths in that country, where it had stood for three hundred years.

At this time the clergy began to take arms. The Neapolitan troops were headed by a subdeacon ; and a deacon was admiral of the emperor's fleet^z.

A. 716. Ratbod, king of the Frisons, had listened to the instructions of St. Vulfran, and was ready to receive baptism. He was going into the font, when unluckily it came into his head to adjure the bishop to tell him where were the antient kings and princes of the Frisons, whether in the Paradise which he promised him, or in the hell with which he had threatened him. Be not deceived, my lord, said Vulfran ; the princes your predecessors, who died without baptism, are eternally damned ; but henceforward whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be eternally happy with Jesus Christ. Then Ratbod drew out his foot from the baptismal font, and said ; I will not quit the company of the princes, my ancestors, to go and dwell with a pack of beggars in this same kingdom of heaven. I cannot give credit to these novelties, and I choose to follow the antient customs of my nation. Thus the saint lost his royal convert^a.

A. 721. Godfathers and godmothers were not allowed to marry one another ; and such marriages are condemned by a council held this year at Rome^b.

A. 723. The caliph Yezid, at the instigation of a Jew of Tiberias, caused all the pictures and images in the Christian churches to be destroyed throughout his dominions. The Jews and Arabs were the dragoons employed in this massacre of images ; for the Christians dared not to lay hands upon them^c.

A. 726. The emperor Leo, perverted as it is said by the Mohammedans, conceived a great abhorrence of images, and resolved to abolish them. Some bishops seconded

^z Fleury, ix. 172. 175, 176.

^a Fleury, ix. 190.

^b Ibid. 199.

^c Fleury, ix. 204.

the emperor; others violently opposed this heresy, as they called it, and defended images, just in the same manner and by the same arguments as are now used by their posterity, the children of the church of Rome. St. Germanus, the patriarch of Constantinople, wrote in defence of images; and, amongst other arguments, he insists upon the numerous and undeniable signs and wonders wrought by these painted gods. It is impossible to suppose that this controversy could be carried on without the intervention of miracles :

‘Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.’

Accordingly, some time afterwards, one Stephen, a saint of the Romish church and an abbot, who suffered persecution, and lived a confessor, and died a martyr for images, gave sight to the blind, and cured paralytics, and cast out devils, and performed a multitude of other miracles in behalf of idolatry. Fleury hath collected them.

Pope Gregory II. sided with the image-mongers. Upon this a revolt ensued, and a pious war against the emperor, who got the better of the rebels. The emperor accused the opposite faction of idolatry. ‘He was too ignorant,’ says Fleury, ‘to comprehend the difference between absolute worship and relative worship; and so wicked, that he not only condemned the veneration of images, but even the intercession of saints, and he had their reliques in abomination.’

It is very true, a man must be ingenious to be able to distinguish nicely between *image-worshippers* and *idolatry*.

‘Cum nullis verbis scriptisve Gregorius papa imperatorem a coeptis potuit revocare, tempus jam advenisse ratus, ut securis ad radicem admoveretur arboris infelicis, apostolica auctoritate, Succidite eam, clamat. Quo tonitru excitati fideles occidentales mox desciscunt penitus a Leonis imperio, apostolico pontifici inhærentes. Sic dignum posteris idem Gregorius reliquit exemplum, ne in ecclesia Christi regnare sinerentur heretici principes, si sæpe moniti in errore persistere obstinato animo invenirentur^d.’

‘Gregorius pontifex Leonem imperatorem piorum communione removit, ac mox Italiae populos sacramenti, quo se

^d Baronius, ad Ann. 730.

obligaverant, religione exsolvit : et ne ei aut tributum darent, aut alia ratione obedirent indixit—Ita Roma Romanusque ducatus a Græcis ad Romanum pontificem propter nefandam eorum hæresin impietatemque pervenit^e.’

Thus Gregory II. caused the tribute, which was annually paid to the Greek emperors from Rome and Italy, to be withdrawn from Leo, on account of his rejecting idolatry ; he excommunicated him as a cursed heretic, absolved the people of Italy from their allegiance to him, and seized Rome and its territories for St. Peter ; *plaudentibus Baronis et Bellarminis*^f.

The emperor, who was steady, pursued his resolution, deposed the patriarch, chose another, and pulled down a favourite image of Christ ; upon which another rebellion ensued. Pope Gregory III. then wrote to him in behalf of images : but he continued to oppose that doctrine, and Joannes Damascenus signalized himself by defending it. He was the champion of the party, and to the writings of this saint may in a great measure be ascribed the establishment of image-worship. Leo died, just like other people, in the year 741 ; and unfortunately the bigots could not make a divine judgment out of it.

The images, says Fleury, were not statues, but pictures ; and there were no other than such in the churches ; which custom the Greeks still preserve. The same observation is made by Thevenot^g.

But there seem to have been some statues as well as pictures in the churches, as we shall show under the year 814.

The history of the image-war is written by Mainbourg, more *Maimburgiano*, that is, with flagrant insincerity, and a multitude of misrepresentations^h.

A. 731. Gregory III. forbade the German Christians to eat horse-flesh.

^e Sigonius De Reg. Ital. l. iii.

^f But some think that the pope did not proceed so far. See Mosheim, p. 310.

^g Bibl. Univ. xiii. 250.

^h On this subject see Mosheim, p. 308. 339. Fleury, ix. 216. 224. 429. Cave, i. 620.

Bonifacius, who was at this time preaching the Gospel in Germany, wrote a letter to Northelm, archbishop of Canterbury, and put this case of conscience to him :

I ask your opinion concerning a fault into which I have fallen, in permitting a marriage. A man, who had been godfather to a child, hath married the mother, who had lost her husband. The Romans say that this is a mortal sin. They require the parties to be separated, and they say that under the Christian emperors such a marriage would have been a crime to be punished by death, or at least to be expiated only by a perpetual pilgrimage. Tell me whether you can find in the decrees of the fathers, or in the canons, or in the Scriptures, that this is so heinous a crime : for I cannot comprehend how this spiritual relation can make the marriage so criminal, since by baptism all Christians become spiritual brethren and sistersⁱ.

‘ Bonifacius, on account of his laborious industry in propagating the Gospel in those regions, was called *the apostle of the Germans* ; and whoso candidly considers all that he did, will perhaps allow him to be not altogether unworthy of that title. But yet in many things his example is very remote from that of the apostles of Christ. For, to pass over the objection that he, as the legate and minister of the pope, was more solicitous to promote the majesty and dignity of the Roman pontiff than the glory of Christ and the interests of the Gospel, he did not attack superstition with the same weapons which had been used by the apostles, but often terrified the minds of the people by threats and violence, and often won them by craft and stratagem. His own epistles give us his character, and show a mind proud, domineering, sly, and subtle, an immoderate endeavour to extend the sacerdotal power and authority, and a gross ignorance of truly apostolical qualifications, and of true Christianity^k.’

There is a *bon mot* ascribed to this apostle : ‘ Formerly,’ said he, ‘ the church had golden priests and wooden chalices : now she hath wooden priests and golden chalices.’

A. 734. The Arabian Mohammedans in Spain made

ⁱ Fleury, ix. 273.

^k Mosheim, p. 284. See Cave, i. 622.

rigid laws to curb the Christians ; but yet, if the truth may be said, not so rigid as the Christians would have made against them, if they had been uppermost¹.

A. 741. Constantinus Copronymus began to reign. He is represented as one of the worst of emperors ; but he was an enemy to images ; and the less regard is due to the character given of him by the opposite party. On this account his subjects rebelled against him, and deposed him : but he recovered the empire.

He died, after having reigned thirty-four years, and persecuted the image-mongers all the time. He opposed also the invocation of saints, and the adoration of reliques ; and he particularly abhorred and plagued the monks, who were his principal adversaries. If we may credit them in their own cause, they were cruelly used by the emperor, and forced to fly to other countries, to avoid the persecution.

Under his auspices^m a council of Iconoclasts was held, in which the adoration and the use of images was condemned. Their decrees were put in execution, and a massacre of painted and wooden gods ensued. Then the pope exhorted Pepin to make war upon the emperor, and to protect the image-mongers.

Constantine sent ambassadors to Pepin, and presented him with an organ, the first that was seen in France.

Pope Stephen II. solicited Pepin to assist him against the Lombards, promising him both temporal prosperity and eternal life, if he complied ; and declaring to him that he would infallibly be damned, if he did not. Fleury censures the pope for making use of such arguments.

Pepin showed him great kindness, and gave him twenty-two cities ; and this, says Fleury, was the first foundation of the temporal dominion of the see of Rome. So the French have the honour of being the authors of this egregious folly.

Constantine one day said to the patriarch, What harm would there be to say of the Virgin Mary, *mother of Christ* ? God preserve you, answered the patriarch, from entertaining such a thought ! Do you not see how Nestorius is anathematized by the whole church ? I only asked

¹ See Fleury, ix. 293.

^m A. 754.

for my own instruction, said the emperor; let it be a secret.

Another day, holding in his hand a purse which he had filled with gold, he asked those who stood by, what it was worth. A great deal, said they. He then emptied it, and asked the same question. It is worth nothing, they answered. So it is, said he, with the mother of God. Whilst Jesus Christ was in her womb, she was worth much: afterwards she was a woman, like other womenⁿ.

A. 742. Bonifacius, whom we mentioned before, and who was an Englishman, says in a letter to Cuthbert archbishop of Canterbury; I cannot pass over one thing in silence, which scandalizes here all good persons. It is, that your church hath lost her reputation, and that you might put a stop to those evils, if you would forbid the pilgrimages of nuns and of other females to Rome. Many of them lose their chastity; and there is hardly a town in Lombardy, France, and other countries, in which some English whore is not to be found^o.

In a council held in Germany we find the first mention made of chaplains^p.

A. 744. A priest in Bavaria, who understood not Latin, used to baptize in this form; 'Baptizo te in nomine Patria, et Filia, et Spiritua Sancta.' Some of the clergy of that country thought that the person so baptized ought to be rebaptized; but pope Zachary, being consulted, determined that the baptism was good and valid^q.

A. 745. Gevilieb, bishop of Mentz, was the son of a bishop who was slain in a battle. Gevilieb, fighting against the same enemies, inquired out the man who had slain his father, and desired to speak with him; and then challenged and encountered him, and killed him. This action, says Fleury^r, was blamed by nobody, and the good prelate continued to perform his ecclesiastical functions.

A. 751. Pope Zachary granted to Bonifacius privileges for the monastery of Fulda, and exempted it from the jurisdiction of all bishops, except the pope. This is the first example of such exemptions^s.

ⁿ Fleury, ix. 380. 383. 419.

^o Fleury, ix. 305.

^p Ibid. 302.

^q Fleury, ix. 327.

^r Ibid. ix. 328.

^s Ibid. 348.

A. 753. Astolfus, king of the Lombards, besieged Ravenna and took it. Eutychius the exarch fled to Greece; and thus ended the exarchate in Italy, after having continued about one hundred and eighty years, from the time of Justinus Junior.

A. 754. A general council of Iconoclasts assembled near Constantinople, condemned the use of holy images and pictures, and produced many good arguments against this superstition^t.

An assembly at Quierty, at which the pope was present, forbids the marriage of those who stood together as godfathers and godmothers at baptism, or at confirmation; and allows baptism by pouring water on the head, in cases of necessity^u.

A. 755. Pope Stephen, wanting the aid of Pepin king of France, made use of a new trick, sent him a letter written by St. Peter, requiring him to assist the see of Rome, under pain of damnation, with many false and most ridiculous applications of texts of Scripture. Pepin assisted the pope^x.

In the Statutes or Instructions of Bonifacius, one is; They whose baptism is dubious, ought without scruple to be baptized, with this protestation; I do not rebaptize thee, but if thou art not baptized, I baptize thee.

This is the first example that we have found of conditional baptism^y.

A. 757. In a council at Compiègne, canons were made relating to marriages; and the leprosy is allowed a sufficient cause to dissolve a marriage, and to leave the uninfected person at liberty to marry again^z.

Pope Paul, in his letters to Pepin, is ever soliciting his help, and, like his predecessor, ever confounding things temporal with spiritual: as if the Lombards, who had been Catholic Christians for one hundred and fifty years, were to be accounted enemies to the Gospel; and as if the king of France were not free to determine whether it were proper for himself and his kingdom to go to war with the Lombards! The pope's letters are dated by the reign of the emperor of

^t Fleury, ix. 362. Cave, i. 646.

^y Ibid. 390.

^u Fleury, ix. 373.

^z Fleury.

^x Fleury, ix. 380.

Constantinople, as being still the true sovereign of Rome; and the senate and people of Rome, writing to Pepin, call not the pope their lord, but only their pastor and father.

This pope, besides other presents, sent Pepin a night-clock, or dial, that is, a dial which wanted not the sun, but either went upon wheels, like ours, or else measured the hours by sand or water, like the old *clepsydræ*^a.

It seems most probable that it went by wheels.

A. 776. A council was held in France, at which the ambassadors of Constantine and the legates of pope Paul were present. The Latins and Greeks disputed about the procession of the Holy Ghost; and the Greeks reproached the former that they had added the *Filioque* to the Constantinopolitan creed. What was decided in this council we know not.

Three years after, a council at Rome decided in favour of image worship^b.

A. 772. Charles the Great, having taken the fortress of Erisbourg, destroyed the temple of the idol of *Irminsul*, a Saxon deity^c.

A. 774. Charles put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards, which had lasted in Italy a little more than two hundred years; and then took the title of king of the French and of the Lombards^d.

A. 780. Leo, who succeeded Constantine, was also an enemy to images, and a persecutor of those who adored them. His death is therefore represented by them as a judgment.

Constantine, his son and successor, being ten years of age, Irene his mother governed for him; and so, under the auspices of a superstitious and an execrable princess, and of a poor ignorant boy, the monks prevailed, and image-worship was triumphant. Irene used to insult and beat the emperor, when he was twenty years old; and the boy proved as bad as his mother^e.

A. 787. The second Nicene council was held, which is

^a Fleury, ix. 404—406.

^b Fleury, ix. 434. 459. Mosheim, p. 312.

^c Vertot, in Hist. de l'Acad. ii. 291. Bibl. Univ. xi. 199.

^d Fleury, ix. 474.

^e Fleury, x. 1. Mosheim, p. 310.

accounted the seventh general council. This assembly re-established the adoration of images, and made use of false miracles, false records, and the most ridiculous and spurious books to confirm their superstitious and stupid doctrines.

‘ Amongst so many bishops,’ says Fleury, ‘ there was not one critic, who knew how to discern true from false records.’

Critic! quoth he. It is well if there were one amongst them who could write his own name. ‘ But this doth not at all invalidate the decisions of the council.’

We must beg his pardon for that. He makes too large demands upon us, when he requires us to believe the divine inspiration and infallibility of a cabal of ecclesiastics, who showed themselves evidently the most lying knaves and senseless blockheads upon the face of the earth^f.

Stillingfleet hath given a good account of this council and of its exploits^g.

A council at the same time assembled in England. One of its canons forbids to cut off a horse’s ears or tail ; or to eat horse-flesh.

Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, being at war with Charles, the pope interposed in the quarrel, excommunicated Tassilon and his accomplices, and gave the king permission to ravage Bavaria. This, says Fleury^h, is the first instance of a pope declaring a war to be just.

A. 789. In the Capitulary published in France by Charles the Great, bishops, abbots, and abbesses are forbidden to keep fools, buffoons, and jugglers for their diversion.

Seneca would have told these prelates that they might always be secure of a *fool* at hand, for their entertainment. He says ; ‘ Ipse aversissimus sum ab istis prodigiis. Si quando fatuo delectari volo, non est mihi longe quærendus : Me rideo.’

At this time the French bishops meeting together endeavoured to steer a middle course. They approved the use of images, against the Iconoclasts ; but they condemned the

^f Fleury, ix. 536. Mosheim, p. 310. Cave, i. 611. 649. Bibl. Univ. ix. 7.

^g Vol. v. p. 554.

^h ix. 561—563.

the council of Nice, for running into the opposite error, and for establishing the adoration of them. Fleuryⁱ, meanly and disingenuously in my opinion, censures them for this procedure, and accuses them of chicanery and prejudice against the Greeks and their council.

In the above-mentioned Capitulary, there is this rigid law ;

‘ Si quis sanctum Quadragesimale Jejunium pro despectu Christianitatis contemserit, morte moriatur.’

Upon this law Baluzius comments in the following manner ;

‘ It is indeed a great severity to put a man to death for despising the Lent fast. But amongst a contumacious people such rigour was necessary to keep them from relapsing perpetually into Paganism. In the time of Ditmarus, bishop of Merseburg, it was a law amongst the Poles, that he who ate flesh in the season of Lent should have his teeth pulled out^k.’

‘ Antiqui Saxones, et omnes Frisonum populi, instante rege Carolo, alios præmiis alios minis sollicitante, ad fidem Christi conversi sunt!’

From those times to ours, two *auxiliaries* have been very instrumental in converting people to the faith, namely, *pistoles*, and *dragoons*.

A. 790. A new heresy arose in Spain, which caused much disputing and much disturbance. A question was started by two bishops, Felix and Elipand, in what sense Christ was Son of God. It was determined that Christ, according to his human nature, was only Son of God by adoption, and a nominal Son^m.

A. 792. Alcuin, an Englishman and an abbot, declared himself against image-worship ; and a council at Frankfort held the same opinion, and condemned the decisions of the second Nicene council. But pope Adrian I. took part with the image-mongers, though he endeavoured to talk upon the subject with some show of moderation.

This council of Frankfort decrees that abbots shall not

ⁱ ix. 573. 577.

^k See Basnage, i. 258.

^l Will. Malsb. De Gestis Anglorum, i. 4.

^m Fleury, ix. 380. Mosheim, p. 315. Bibl. Univ. xv. 16.

put out the eyes or cut off the limbs of their monks, for any fault whatsoever : which shows what sort of rulers these abbots were.

It also decrees that it is lawful to pray to God in any language, and not, as some pretended, only in three tongues, which it is to be supposed were Latin, Greek, and Hebrewⁿ.

Alcuinus obiit A. 804. Vir pius, doctus, gravis, Latine, Græce, Hebraice peritus. Ei quicquid penitentiæ doctrinæ, quicquid politionis literaturæ isto et sequentibus sæculis Gallia ostendat, totum acceptum referri debet. Ei academiciæ Parisiensis, Turonensis, Fuldensis, Suessoniensis, aliæque plures originem et incrementa debent ; quibus ille, si non præsens præfuit, aut fundamenta posuit, saltem doctrina præluxit, exemplo prævit, et beneficiis a Carolo impetratis adauxit^o.

A. 799. Arnon, archbishop of Salsburg, converted many of the Sclavonians, who became very fond of him. He used to make all the Christian slaves come and dine at his own table, and gave them drink out of gilt cups ; whilst their Pagan masters sat without doors on the ground, like dogs, and had meat and drink placed before them. When they asked him why they were thus treated, the answer was ; As you have not been washed in the salutary bath, you are not worthy to sit and eat at table with those who are regenerated. Upon this, they desired also to be instructed, and admitted to baptism^p.

This finesse was however more episcopal and Christian than the usual method of bullying, beating, fining, and sacrificing those who would not quit Paganism.

In this century the *Scholastics* arose, the first of whom were Irish, *Scoti*, who introduced logic and philosophy into divinity^q.

A. 800. *Charles the Great*, or *Charlemain*, was made emperor of Rome, and crowned by pope Leo III., who prostrated himself before him, and acknowledged him as his temporal lord. But the popes in following times learned better things, and treated kings and emperors as their vassals, slaves and footmen.

ⁿ Fleury, ix. 597. 608.

^o Cave, i. 637.

^p Fleury, x. 26.

^q Mosheim, p. 307.

This emperor was very plain and simple in his apparel; and endeavoured to restrain the luxury of dress which began to be introduced in his dominions. He had the honour to be canonized in the year 1166.

He greatly favoured commerce; and to facilitate it, he attempted to join the Rhine to the Danube, but could not accomplish the project. He made laws against luxury; and protected and encouraged farmers and husbandmen. He was a great prince by his successes, and still more by his wise conduct, to which they are to be ascribed^r.

A. 809. In a council, at Aix la Chapelle, the question was discussed whether the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, and whether the *Filioque* should be inserted in the creed. Pope Leo III. being consulted, was against adding this expression; and he gave this, amongst other reasons, for his opinion, that 'every doctrine that is true is not therefore to be inserted in a confession of faith.' This was speaking like an honest and a wise man; and if this advice had been followed, we should have had shorter creeds and fewer articles. This pope died in the year 816, and is ranked amongst the saints^s.

'The Arabs, who before had been occupied in extending their territories, and not in cultivating their minds, now made a great progress in knowledge, excited by Almamun, or Abu Gaafar Abdalah. This excellent caliph of Babylon and Ægypt began to reign about the time when Charlemain died, and lived till the year 833. He founded celebrated schools in many cities, he attracted learned men by great rewards, he collected considerable libraries, he caused at a vast expense the best Greek writers to be translated into the Arabic language, he performed every thing that became a prince who was a passionate lover of literature, and himself a very learned man. Under his influence the Arabs began to acquire a relish for Greek erudition, and propagated it by degrees not only through Syria and Africa, but even through Spain and Italy. From this time they enumerate a long series of their own countrymen, who were philosophers, physicians, astronomers, and mathematicians. From

^r Spener Hist. Germ. Foncecagne, Mem. de l'Acad. ix. 522. Cave, i. 632. Fleury, xv. 219.

^s Fleury, x. 100. Cave, i. 642.

these the European Christians received much of their knowledge; for what was taught in Europe, from the tenth century, of the arts and sciences above mentioned, was, for the most part, derived from the books and the schools of the Arabs in Italy and Spain. And thus the Saracens, in a certain sense, may be called the restorers of letters in Europe.

‘In that part of Europe which was subject to the Franks, Charlemain was a zealous promoter of literature; and if his successors had been able and willing to tread in his steps, barbarism and ignorance would soon have been put to flight. Yet some imitators he had. Ludovicus Pius, following his father’s example, attempted and performed many things conducing to the advancement of arts and knowledge. In this he was surpassed by his son Carolus Calvus, a singular patron of erudition, who invited learned men from all quarters to his court, took pleasure in their conversation, adorned and enriched the public schools, and particularly the Aulic or Palatine school. In Italy, his brother Lotharius endeavoured to revive literature, which was then quite sunk, by founding schools in eight of the most considerable cities. But his commendable efforts were attended with small success; and Italy during that century remained destitute of learned and ingenious men. In England, Alfred acquired great renown by encouraging philosophy and literature. But the infelicity of the times was such, that the effects were not produced which might have been expected from the dignity and authority of such royal patrons.’

The commendations justly bestowed upon these illustrious protectors of learning ought always to be understood as indirect censures of those princes who have not the honour to resemble them.

A. 802. St. Ludger flourished at this time, and passed for a worker of miracles^u.

It appears that there were still some *stylitæ*, or *pillar-monks*; and that the practice had continued three hundred and fifty years after the famous Symeon, who had been the founder of the *sublime order*^x.

^u Mosheim, p. 320.

^v Fleury, x. 52: 54.

^x Ibid. x. 58.

A. 813. 'Charles showed his piety by many laws in favour of the church. In one of them he speaks thus :

'We command that all our subjects observe the following decree, which we have extracted from the Theodosian code :

'Whosoever having a law-suit, either as plaintiff or defendant, chooseth the arbitration of a bishop, he may carry the cause before him, notwithstanding any opposition made by the other party ; and whatsoever the bishop decides, it shall remain firm, without any appeal from it. The testimony of one bishop shall be admitted by all the judges in their courts, and no testimony shall be permitted to be brought against it.

'There is indeed in the Theodosian code, l. xvi. such a law of Constantine addressed to Ablavius ; but the most skillful critics hold it to be supposititious ; and we find not that it was ever executed from the time of Constantine to that of Charles. It is true that the sanction given to it by Charles, who thought it to be genuine, hath afforded a handle to the bishops in the subsequent ages to extend their jurisdiction very far.'

A. 814. The emperor Leo the Armenian declared himself against images. He called a council of ecclesiastics who were in his sentiments, and persecuted the idolaters very severely, as they have represented it. The storm fell principally upon the monks, who were stubborn adorers of their brainless brethren, the images ; and Theodorus² Studites, one of the saints of those dark days, and a very great rogue, wrought abundance of miracles in their behalf. Leo was slain by conspirators, in the year 820.

His successor, Michael, at first tolerated the idolaters, but afterwards oppressed them ; and had a particular abhorrence for the monks. Historians have represented him as very ignorant and very heretical ; as one who denied the doctrine of the resurrection, and the existence of the devil, and held several absurd opinions.

This emperor, writing to the emperor Louis, gives him the following remarkable account of the idolaters :

¹ Fleury, x. 157.

² See Caro, ii. 8.

Many of our clergy and laity, departing from the apostolical traditions, have introduced pernicious novelties. They took down the crosses in the churches, and put the images in their room, before which they lighted up lamps, and burned incense, honouring them as the cross. They sang before them, worshipped them, and implored their succour. Many dressed the female images with robes, and made them stand godmothers to their children. They offered up hair to them when they cut it off for the first time. Some presbyters scratched off the paint from the images, and mixed it with the holy eucharist, and gave it in the communion. Others put the body of the Lord into the hands of the images, and made the communicants take it out thence. Others used boards, with pictures painted on them, instead of an altar, on which they consecrated the elements; and many such like abuses they committed.

Therefore the orthodox emperors, and the most learned bishops assembled in council, have forbidden these enormities, and have removed the images to higher places in the church, where they stood formerly, and where they were not worshipped, as they have been of late by ignorant people.

Some of the complainers are gone to Rome, to calumniate us there; but we are orthodox; we believe the Trinity, one God in three persons, the incarnation of the Word, his two wills and two operations; we implore the intercession of the holy Virgin the mother of God, and of all the saints; we reverence their reliques; we receive all the apostolical traditions, and the decrees of the six councils.

From this account it appears that these images were not only pictures on flat boards or canvass, but also carved statues; contrary to what is said above, on the year 726.

In some instructions given by the bishop of Basil to his diocese, the people are all required to learn the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed; but the clergy are enjoined to repeat by heart the creed of St. Athanasius every Sunday^a.

A. 816. Pope Leo died. During his pontificate, which lasted twenty years, he made great repairs, and immense

^a Fleury, x. 236. 259. 263.

offerings to the churches of Rome ; which he was enabled to do, probably by the liberality of Charles the Great, and of other princes, and by the oblations of the multitude of pilgrims who repaired to Rome. He covered the pavement of the *Confession*, or tomb of St. Peter, with as much gold as weighed four hundred and fifty-three pounds. At the entry of the sanctuary he made a balustrade of silver, of one thousand five hundred and seventy-three pounds. He rebuilt the baptistery of St. Andrew, large and round, with fonts in the middle, surrounded with pillars of porphyry. In the midst of the fonts was a pillar, and on it a silver lamb, who poured out water. He adorned the windows of the church of Lateran with painted glass ; and this is the first mention that is made of such glass. The gold that was employed on these occasions amounted to more than eight hundred pounds, and the silver to more than twenty-one thousand pounds, that is, Roman pounds of twelve ounces^b.

A council held in England, at this time, orders that at the dedication of a church, the eucharist consecrated by the bishop shall be put up in a box, with the reliques, and preserved in the church ; and that, if there be no reliques, the eucharist shall suffice ; that there shall be also a picture hung up, to show to what saint the church is dedicated :

Every judgment or act, confirmed by the sign of the cross, shall be inviolably observed :

The priests, when they baptize, shall not only pour water on the head of the children, but shall plunge them into the laver.

This shows that baptism by infusion began to be introduced in cold climates^c.

A. 818. ' About this time disputes arose in France concerning the eucharist. Paschasius Radbertus, in a treatise on the subject, laid the foundation of the doctrine of transubstantiation amongst the Latins ; but was strenuously opposed by Rabanus, and afterwards by Ratramnus, Joannes Scotus, and other divines. The deep silence of the disputants on both sides concerning the worship of this sacrament, shows that even in those days no such notion was

^b Fleury, x. 184.

^c Fleury, x. 194.

entertained. But at length, after the doctrine of transubstantiation had been confirmed by many decrees of the popes, and fully established by violence and bloodshed, by the persecution and destruction of its gainsayers, it was also decreed, as a proper inference from the doctrine, that the deified elements should be adored with divine worship, called *latria*; a practice unknown to the Christian world before the twelfth century^d.

A. 824. Amongst the ornaments of the churches at Rome, are mentioned two, which represented the bodily assumption of the Virgin Mary; which shows that this opinion was then received^e.

A. 825. The assembly at Paris, called together by the emperor Charles, endeavoured to steer a middle course in the grand controversy then on foot, condemning both those who destroyed images, and those who worshipped them.

Four years after, Claudius, bishop of Turin, signalized himself by pulling down the images in his diocese, and writing against them.

The emperor Theophilus was a warm Iconoclast. The idolaters affirm that they were cruelly persecuted by him. His enmity to holy images and to the Catholics, says Fleury, hath rendered his memory odious. He performed some signal acts of justice; he also valued himself upon his skill in music, and set some hymns to be sung in the church. On one solemn day he was himself the guide, who beat the measure in the Greek church, and he gave the clergy on this occasion a hundred pounds of gold.

Michael, his son and successor, who was then a boy, aided by his mother, and instigated by the monks, re-established image-worship in the year 842, which thenceforward was triumphant. On this glorious victory over religion and common sense, a new festival was established, called *the Feast of Orthodoxy*, which is still observed in the Greek church. Thus fell the heresy of the Iconoclasts, which had maintained itself about one hundred and twenty years after it was introduced by Leo Isaurus; and thus it appears that even in those dark, ignorant, superstitious, cre-

^d Dallæus, De Cult. Lat. p. 1013. 1018.

^e Fleury, x. 251.

dulous, lying ages, there was a long and a violent struggle against idolatry, till at length monks, women, priests, and popes bore down all opposition^f.

A. 831. At this time Christians believed that in the sacrament they received, in some sense, the body and blood of Christ, without determining the manner how. But Paschasius Radbertus taught that only the figure or appearance of bread and wine remained, and that the true body of Christ was present. He met with warm contradiction on account of this novel interpretation. The disputants on this point talked very obscurely and inconsistently, except honest Joannes Scotus, who, being a philosopher, expressed himself with clearness and precision, and said that the bread and wine were signs and images of the absent body and blood of Christ^g.

Of Scotus it may be observed, that he was no slave to common opinions. His very errors are not those of a blockhead, but of a man of parts, of a contemplative and inquisitive disposition.

Now also was revived the controversy about grace, predestination, election, and reprobation, stirred up by Godeschalcus, a monk, who was a rigid predestinarian, as Augustin had been before him, and as the Jansenists and Calvinists have been since. By order of a council he was very roughly handled, whipped, imprisoned, and compelled to burn his writings. Thus he was condemned as a heretic, and died in a jail. Many engaged on each side of the controversy; and the third council^h of Valence made some decrees about itⁱ.

^f Eodem tempore aliud ex Germania certamen in Galliam inferebatur de modo quo sanctissimus Servator ex utero matris in lucem prodiit. Germani quidam Jesum Christum non communi reliquorum hominum lege, sed singulari et extraordinario, utero matris exiisse statuebant; qua sententia in Galliam delata, Ratramnus eam oppugnabat, atque

^f Fleury, x. 269. 298. 400, &c. Mosheim, p. 340, &c. Cave, ii. 74.

^g Cave, ii. 32.

^h A. 855.

ⁱ Fleury, x. 502. 592, &c. Mosheim, p. 343, &c. Cave, ii. 26. Usher, Life of Godeschalch. or the Bibl. Univ. ii. 229.

Christum per naturæ januam in mundum ingressum esse tuebatur. Germanis subveniebat Paschasius Radbertus, libro singulari, clauso prorsus ventre Christum natum esse scissens, atque secus sentientes negatæ virginitatis Mariæ incusans. Brevis hæc concertatio fuit, majoribusque cessit.

‘Omnia controversiarum quæ hoc ævum agitarunt, nobilissima æque ac tristissima illa est, quæ Græcos et Latinos disjunxit,’ &c.^k

A. 840. Christianus Druthmarus wrote a Commentary on St. Matthew, in which there are passages which make directly against transubstantiation. Ratramnus also wrote against it^l.

A. 844. The emperor Charles, upon the complaints of the presbyters in France against the intolerable tyranny of their bishops, published a decree to redress their grievances.

By this law it is ordered, that the bishops shall be contented with that quantity of bread, wine, and other provisions which is specified. The priests shall not be obliged to convey it farther than five miles, and the bishop’s officers shall not give them any vexation. When the bishop visits, the curate of the place, with the four next neighbours, shall furnish the provisions here specified; and his retinue shall not exact more, or damage and plunder the house that entertains them, &c.

‘This is an important decree,’ says Fleury^m, ‘as it shows how some prelates abused their power.’

The emperor very wisely made use of his authority to restrain those prelates upon whom the authority of the Gospel had no influence.

‘Alberic, bishop of Langres, being dead, Theutbald succeeded him. Some time after two pretended monks brought to the church of St. Benignus at Dijon a parcel of bones, which they said were the reliques of some saint, brought by them from Rome, or some other part of Italy; but they had forgotten the name of the saint. The bishop thought it not proper to acknowledge these anonymous reliques, nor yet to despise them, because the monks pretended that they would produce authentic proofs. One of

^k Mosheim, p. 345.

^l Cave, ii. 25. 27.

^m x. 423.

them departed to seek for testimonials, and returned no more : the other, who remained at Dijon, died there. In the mean time, these bones having been respectfully placed near the sepulchre of Benignus, a report was raised that they wrought miracles, and that women fell down suddenly in the church, and were tormented, without having upon them the appearance of the blows which they said they had received. This rumour drew a great concourse to see these wonders ; and three or four hundred persons came, and, having been struck down in the church, refused to go out of it, saying that if they departed home they should be seized again, and obliged to return to the church. Amongst these were not only maidens, but married women of every age and condition. The same marvels were wrought, not only in this, but in other churches of the diocese. The bishop Theutbald thought it proper to consult Amolon, archbishop of Lyons, upon this occasion.

‘ Amolon answered ; We advise that these bones, said to be of some unknown saint, without any proofs produced of it, be taken out of the sanctuary, removed out of the church, and secretly, before few witnesses, buried in holy ground, that we may show them some respect, because they are said to be reliques, and that the ignorant people may not be led into superstition, since we have no assured knowledge whether they be reliques or not. He then mentions the example of St. Martin, and the authority of pope Gelasius, and proceeds ;

‘ If it can be proved that two or three cures have been wrought on this occasion in the church of St. Benignus, we must return thanks for them to God, without giving our approbation to the rest that is done in that or in other churches. For these pretended reliques having been brought in the time of Lent, when churches are more frequented than at other times, it may have happened that some beggarly knaves, seizing on this occasion to gratify their avarice, or to relieve their indigence, began to act these epilepsies, trances, blows, loss of senses, and recoveries : upon which the by-standers, through pity and terror, gave them alms so liberally, that, finding the sweets of it, they would not go away, and pretended that it was not in their power to depart. For who

ever heard of miracles wrought in churches, and at the tombs of martyrs, not to cure diseased persons, but to deprive men of their health and senses? Who ever heard of innocent girls cured by the prayers of saints, and relapsing into their disorders, when they returned to their parents? or of saints who cured women, to separate them from their husbands, and to punish them if they repaired to their own houses? Who sees not that these are either the tricks of impostors, or illusions of devils? We find persons even in holy places, who, for the love of sordid lucre, instead of instructing the people, and repressing these abuses, give countenance and encouragement to them, extolling the piety of such knaves, that they may share in the profit, and fill their bellies and their purses. I would not say this, if I had not seen examples of it in this diocese, and in the time of my predecessor. I have seen persons brought to him, who said that they were possessed; but, by the exorcism of a few bastinadoes properly applied, confessed the imposture, and declared that poverty had led them into it. In the province of Narbonne, and at the sepulchre of St. Fermin, the same tricks were played, and falls and bruises were seen, and they who fell into these fits had marks of burning upon their limbs, as of sulphur; at which the people being terrified brought large oblations to the church. But the bishop of Narbonne, who is still living, having advised with our predecessor, forbade this concourse at the church; and ordered all the oblations which were made in it to be distributed to the poor. Upon which the illusion ceased, and all was calm and quiet.

‘ Arming yourself therefore with sacerdotal zeal and severity, banish from the church this diabolical profanation; and exhort the people to stay quietly each in his own parish, and do his Christian duty there. And if any fall sick, let him follow the direction of St. James, and send for the presbyters, to pray over him, and anoint him in the name of the Lord. We have reason to hope that when these alms and oblations are cut off, the pretended maladies will cease also, and these impostors be obliged to get their bread by other methods. If any of them prove stubborn and refractory, they must be compelled by corporal corrections to confess their guilt.

‘ And though it were true that by leaving those places they should be seized again with a relapse, it would be evidently the operation of evil spirits ; and therefore they have the more reason to quit those places, and despise the terrors of the enemy, and implore the assistance of God in the usual manner. For we must not imagine that the saints who dwell with God are liable to envy and jealousy, and take it in dudgeon that other saints should cure distempered people who had once applied to the former.

‘ If there be any real dæmoniacs amongst them, they should be treated according to the usual practice of the church, by their friends and their curate, or be conducted to some churches of the martyrs, in a silent way, and without drawing the rabble after them^a.’

Read the *Enthusiasm of the Papists and Methodists compared*, a treatise of great use and importance ; and observe how the spirit of fanaticism and the spirit of knavery operate in the same manner in the ninth and in the eighteenth century.

A. 845. The empress Theodora undertook to convert the Paulicians or Manichæans of Armenia, or to extirpate them, if they refused to be converted. They had been persecuted, and many of them slain, by some preceding emperors ; and the emir of the Saracens had given them a habitation in Armenia. She sent soldiers against them, who slew a hundred thousand, and their goods were confiscated for the use of the emperor. The remainder of them joined with the emir ; and thus the empress, far from extinguishing this heresy, caused it to spread itself wider, and furnished the Saracens with powerful succours against the Romans, as they were called, or Romanized Greeks.

These Paulicians were accounted to be Manichæans ; but they did not own the charge, and in several points they differed from the Manichæans. They had some notions which have been since adopted by the Quakers. Bossuet hath given an account of this sect ; but, as Mosheim justly observes of him, neither did he consult originals, nor scruple to wrest and misrepresent things, so that he is not at all to be

^a Fleury, x. 479. Du Pin, vii. 150.

regarded or trusted in points relating to heresy, orthodoxy, or ecclesiastical authority°.

A. 854. The emperor Michael is represented by historians as a complete libertine. He was plunged in debauchery, used to drive chariots himself in the circus, and to stand godfather to the children of charioteers. He had about him a select band of buffoons and profligates, whom he treated with great respect. To turn religion into open ridicule, he made them wear the episcopal robes, and mimic the most sacred rites and ceremonies. One of them, whose name was Gryllus, was called patriarch of Constantinople, and the rest were bishops of various sees, and he himself represented a bishop. They imitated the chants of the church upon guitars, playing *forte*, and then *piano*, to represent the priests, sometimes speaking softly, and then aloud. They had also golden vases, adorned with jewels, which they filled with vinegar and mustard, and gave it by way of communion.

In this manner they made processions through the streets of Constantinople, and Gryllus rode on an ass, followed by the rest. One day they met the patriarch on a procession with the clergy; and Gryllus, rejoicing at so favourable an opportunity, began to chant to the guitar, and was accompanied by his crew, who attacked the patriarch with profane and opprobrious language. At another time, the emperor Michael sent to his mother Theodora to come and receive the benediction of the patriarch. She, imagining that it was Ignatius, came and prostrated herself with great respect before him, to receive the blessing. But it was Gryllus, who took care to conceal his face. He then brake wind backwards, and in a profane manner said, Such as I have, give I unto thee. The empress, thus insulted, cursed the false patriarch, and her son, and told the latter that God, whom he despised, would certainly forsake him^p.

In the Acts of the Council of Soissons, bishops are empowered to scourge and beat the peasants and vassals belonging to any of the nobles, when they deserved correction. Thus,

° Fleury, x. 435. xi. 362. Mosheim, p. 351, &c.

^p Ibid. x. 505.

says Fleury[†], the prelates mixed temporal with spiritual jurisdiction. But they carried their insolence much further ; for about this time they began to claim the power of deposing kings.

A. 855. Pope Joan is supposed to have succeeded Leo IV. Many are the authors who have discussed this litigated and obscure subject[†].

A. 859. ‘ Charles le Chauve, Carolus Calvus, presented a request to the Council of Savonieres, complaining of the archbishop of Sens, who had deserted him. Yet he consecrated me, says the king, and promised never to depose me, or at least, not without the consent and concurrence of the prelates who assisted at my consecration ; to whose judgment I then submitted, and still submit myself.

These words are remarkable in the mouth of a king ; and we have found none who talked in this manner, at least, none in France. But the example of Louis the Debonnaire, who had so often caused himself to be crowned and re-instated by bishops, and the weakness of Charles at that juncture, might induce him to use such language, &c.[§]

Hincmar, censuring the writings of Joannes Scotus, says ; He hath other errors against the faith ; as that the Divinity is triple ; that the sacrament of the altar is not the true body and blood of Christ, but only a memorial of it ; that angels are corporeal ; that the soul of man is not in the body ; that the only pains of hell are the remorse of conscience ; &c.[†]

A. 860. ‘ Huldericus, a German bishop, by his authority and erudition gave a check to the attempts of the pope, who endeavoured to impose the yoke of celibacy upon his clergy. In an epistle addressed to Nicolas, concerning the continency of the clergy, he boldly and fully refuted, from Scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity, the rigid doctrine of that pontiff. This epistle was highly esteemed by the de-

[†] Fleury, 551. 565.

[†] See Mosheim, p. 325. *Amœn. Liter.* vol. i. and ix. *Bibl. Univ.* xxi. 56.

[†] Fleury, x. 639.

[†] *Ibid.* x. 647. Cave, ii. 45. Dupin, vii. 79.

fenders of marriage; insomuch that Gregory VII. found it necessary to condemn it expressly, in a council held at Rome in the year 1079^u.

A. 861. Photius was made patriarch of Constantinople. Never was there a patriarch so persecuted by the popes as this man, who had more learning and judgment than almost all the popes put together, and in whose time the grand schism of the Greeks and Latins, of the eastern and western churches, began. A council for the destruction of Photius was assembled at Constantinople; and lest any resolution should pass in favour of him; the legates of the pope would suffer no one to enter in, unless he would previously subscribe to a full compliance to the will of the sovereign lord the pope. The number of the prelates not being sufficient, because many refused to subscribe, they introduced into the assembly some deputies from the Saracens, who were Mahometans, and pretended that they were deputed from the patriarchs of the East; and when these venerable fathers signified the decrees of the holy council, and the deposition of Photius, they did not make use of ink, but of the blood of Jesus Christ, that is, of the consecrated wine. This is the council which the Latins call the Eighth Oecumenical Council; but the Greeks will not allow it to be a council; and Photius treated these papal enterprises with supreme contempt, and excommunicated those who excommunicated him; and in the year 866 he anathematized and deposed pope Nicolas. He had the honour to be cursed and anathematized by seven popes during his patriarchate, and by four after his death; and these maledictions have so alienated the spirit of the Greek from the Latin church, that although four councils have been assembled to reconcile them, it hath been to no purpose. Pope John XXII. sent the Greeks a letter, to invite them to a re-union, to which they returned him this answer; Exercise your authority over your own creatures. As to us, we can neither bear your pride, nor satisfy your avarice: So the devil be with you; for God is with us^x.

Photius, deposed, banished, imprisoned, and sick, wrote

^u Cave, ii. 52.

^x Philippus Cyprius, in the Bibl. Univ. vii. 61.

elegant and pathetic letters to the emperor Basilius, and to other persons, which you may see in Fleury.

‘ Photius was of an illustrious family; but of a genius even superior to his birth. He had wealth enough to enable him to purchase all sorts of books, and was indefatigable in the use of them; so that he became the most learned man, not only of his own time, but of the preceding ages. He understood grammar, poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, physics, and all profane sciences; nor had he neglected the study of theology. His extracts from about three hundred antient authors are fair and judicious.’

‘ Photium, quo doctiorem forsam nusquam tulit ingeniorum ferax Græcia, egregie commendant ingenium ad omnia natum, judicium solidum, summum acumen, infinita lectio, incredibilis diligentia. Omnia pene reipublicæ munia obierat, omnia ecclesiastica monumenta pervestigat; in unica, quam habemus hodie, Bibliotheca 230 fere Scriptores, majorem partem ecclesiasticos sistit, diligenter a se lectos, recensitos, excerptos, deque eorum libris, argumentis, stylo, fide, et auctoritate, accuratum, si quisquam alius, judicium tulit.’

‘ In this century many things befell the Greeks, which tended to extinguish the love of letters and of knowledge. However, learned men they still had, and particularly at Constantinople; which is to be ascribed to the liberality of the emperors, of whom some were themselves learned, and to the patronage of their pontiffs, amongst whom Photius stood highest in knowledge and abilities. There were therefore persons to be found amongst them who excelled in compositions both of prose and of verse; who showed their skill in the art of disputation, both against the Latins and other antagonists; who wrote histories by no means contemptible of the transactions of their own times. The warm contentions which were then carried on between the Greeks and the Latins excited the former to join to the art of ratiocination a copious and elegant style; and to improve those natural talents which else would have been lost in a slothful obscurity.—

‘ Photius, a man of a high spirit, and more learned than

† Fleury.

* Cave.

all the Latins, imprudently sowed the seeds of an eternal war between the eastern and the western churches. First, he claimed Bulgaria, as belonging to the see of Constantinople, whilst pope Nicolas asserted a jurisdiction over that country. And then, which was more to be lamented, and unworthy of so great a man, he turned his own private into a public cause, and sent a circular epistle to the eastern patriarchs, in which, with expressious of vehement acrimony, he charged the Roman bishops who had been sent to Bulgaria, and the whole Roman church, with corrupting the Christian religion, and with heresy. Full of wrath and resentment, he accused them of five practices, which in his opinion were most detestable; first, that they kept a fast on Saturday, or the Sabbath day; next, that they permitted the eating of milk and cheese in the first week of Lent; thirdly, that they condemned the marriage of the clergy; fourthly, that they suffered only bishops to consecrate or confirm baptized persons with the chrism, or holy oil, and anointed again those who had been anointed by the presbyters; lastly, that they had adulterated the Constantinopolitan Creed, by adding the word *Filioque*, and taught that the Holy Ghost proceeded not from the Father alone, but from the Son also*.

‘The social and the private life of Christians, especially of the Latins, abounded with institutions derived from the antient impieties. For the barbarous nations, which had adopted Christianity, could not easily quit the manners and the customs of their Pagan ancestors, howsoever opposite to the rules of the Gospel, and by their example drew the people amongst whom they dwelt into the practice of the same follies. An example of this may be seen in that noted method of trying the innocence of accused persons by cold water, by duel, by hot iron, by the cross, and by other methods frequently made use of amongst the Latins in this and in following ages. No man of sense in these days hath any doubt but that this process of investigating the truth in dark and ambiguous cases is of a barbarous original, fallacious, and alto-

* Mosheim. Concerning Photius, see Fleury, xi. 5. 226, 366. 385. &c. Cave, Proleg. p. xxxvi. and ii. 1. 47. 79. Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. Baillet, Jug. des Sav. ii. 7. Mosheim, p. 320. 346.

gether repugnant to the spirit of Christianity. Yet the popes and bishops of those days scrupled not to sanctify these superstitions by solemn prayer, and by the administration of the Lord's supper, and so to give them a kind of religious appearance^b.

A. 860. Rodolphus, archbishop of Bourges, was the son of a count, who got him into orders, by giving him an estate in the Limousin ; and this is the first instance wherein a temporal estate served for a title to qualify a candidate for orders^c.

A. 868. ' Æneas, bishop of Paris, and Ratram a French monk, wrote against the Greeks concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, and in defence of the *Filioque*. Æneas defends also the primacy of the pope, and says ; After the emperor Constantine embraced Christianity, he quitted Rome, saying that it was not proper that two emperors, the one temporal and the other spiritual, should rule in the same city. So he subjected Rome and many provinces to the apostolical see, leaving to the pope the regal authority.

' We see that Æneas grounds all this upon the pretended donation of Constantine, which in these later ages hath been fully proved to be a mere forgery. But he is the first author that I know of, who hath cited it^d.'

A. 869. Pope Adrian appointed the emperor Louis successor to the kingdom of his brother Lotharius. Thus he made himself the disposer of crowns^e.

A. 871. This pope having written an insolent letter to Carolus Calvus, the king sent him a spirited reply, in which he says ; I would have you to know that we kings of France never yet passed for viceroys or stewards of bishops, but for sovereign lords in our own dominions. Meddle with your own ecclesiastical affairs, and think not to rule over us, &c.

The French bishops also sent him a bold answer ; and this procedure tamed and humbled him^f.

A. 878. The council of Troyes, where the pope presided, made some canons, one of which was ;

The bishops shall be treated by the secular powers with

^b Mosheim, p. 349.

^c Fleury, xi. 17.

^d Ibid. xi. 200.

^e Ibid. xi. 226.

^f Ibid. xi. 372.

all respect ; and no person shall presume to sit down in their presence without their permission.

This council condemns translations from one bishopric to another^s.

A. 880. Pope John VIII. in an epistle to a Sclavonian prince, says ;

We^h approve the Sclavonian letters, invented by the philosopher Constantine ; and we order that the praises of Christ may be published in that language. It is not contrary to the faith to employ it in the public prayers of the church, and in reading the holy Scriptures. He who made the three principal tongues, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, made the rest also for his own glory. Nevertheless, to show the more respect to the Gospel, let it first be read in Latin and then in Sclavonian, for the sake of people who understand not Latin ; and according to the practice of some other churches, &c.ⁱ

A. 881. Athanasius, bishop of Naples, had been excommunicated for having entered into alliance with the Saracens. The pope at last absolved him, upon condition, says he, that you send us the principal persons amongst the Saracens whom you have with you, and cut the throats of all the rest.

This condition of an absolution imposed upon a bishop by a pope, is *hardly* conformable, says Fleury,^k to the antient mildness of the church of Christ.

Hardly indeed : but the church of Christ and the church of the pope are two different things.

A. 884. Photius wrote a violent letter against the Latins, about the procession of the Holy Ghost.

A. 890. The emperor Leo, finding the compilations of the law to be imperfect, and consisting of different collections, the Institutes, the Digests, and the Code, besides the Novellæ added afterwards, caused them all to be reduced to one body of laws, divided into six parts, and sixty books. They were called *Basilica*, either from the name of the emperor Basil, Leo's father, who had begun the work ; or because they were *imperial* constitutions. This is the

^s Fleury, xi. 434.

^h See Stillingfleet, t. vi. p. 464.

ⁱ Fleury, xi. 499.

^k *Ibid.* 504.

civil law which the Greeks used ever afterwards. It was written in Greek, as Justinian's Collections were in Latin. But as even in Justinian's time, Latin was not spoken at Constantinople, his laws had been presently translated into Greek¹.

A. 896. Pope Stephen VI. held a council, in which he condemned Formosus, his predecessor. He caused his body to be dugged up, and brought into the assembly, and placed in the pontifical throne, properly accoutred; and an advocate was appointed to answer in his name. Then Stephen, addressing himself to the carcase, said; Bishop of Porto, how didst thou dare to usurp the see of Rome? Having condemned him, his sacred habit was taken from him, they cut off three of his fingers, and then his hand, and then flung him into the Tiber. Then he deposed all those who had been ordained by Formosus, and re-ordained them. But Stephen soon received the due reward of these mean and infamous proceedings. He was seized, expelled from his see, loaded with chains, and strangled in a dungeon^m.

Not long after this a council was held at Rome, in the canons of which it is said;

'A detestable custom is introduced, that, at the death of a pope, they pillage the patriarchal palacé, and at the same time both the city and the suburbs of Rome. In the same manner they also plunder episcopal houses at the death of the bishop. These robberies we strictly forbid,' &c.ⁿ

A. 900. The Hungarians were a barbarous people, who issued forth from Scythia, and had appeared in the French dominions about the year 889. They entered first into Pan-
nonia and its neighbourhood, living upon hunting and fishing. Then they made excursions into Carinthia, Moravia, and Bulgaria. They were expert archers: they knew not how to form sieges, or to fight pitched battles on foot; but suddenly attacked their enemies, and as suddenly dispersed themselves. They lived on horseback, shaved their heads, ate raw flesh, and drank blood. They ripped up their enemies, and cut their hearts in pieces, and used to eat them as a remedy. They were, both males and females, ut-

¹ Fleury, xi. 587. See Fabricius, Bibl. Lat. xiv. 425.

^m Ibid. xi. 610.

ⁿ Ibid. xi. 617.

terly void of compassion, silent, and more ready to act than to speak. They passed on to Bavaria, and thence to Italy in 899, and overthrew an army that opposed them, and burnt and pillaged all that fell in their way^o.

Some murderers were excommunicated by an assembly at Rheims. The bishops, when they pronounced the execrations, flung lighted lamps out of their hands to the ground, and put them out. This is the first example that we find of this ceremonial^p.

Alfred, king of England, died ; a prince famous for his valour, piety, and learning^q.

^o Fleury, xi. 625.

^p Ibid. xi. 629.

^q See Fleury, xi. 536. Cave, ii. 59. Rapin, i. 90. We have been told by some writers, to the discredit of Rapin, that lord Bolingbroke disliked him, and despised him. Such a censure from such a man is worth an encomium.

THE END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

REMARKS
ON
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Διὰ δυσφημίας καὶ εὐφημίας.

THE FIFTH VOLUME.

REMARKS

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

A. 902. **THE** emperor Leo married a fourth wife, which, being an action prohibited by the Greek canons, caused much disturbance. If he had only kept a whore, no noise would have been made about it^a.

A. 905. Sergius III. was made pope. Theodora, a woman of a vile character, ruled absolutely in Rome. She had two daughters, Marozia and Theodora, more profligate even than herself. Marozia had by pope Sergius a bastard called John, who afterwards was pope. Sergius, says Fleury^b, is the first pope whom I find charged with this crime.

He should have added, that he was not the last pope famous for getting bastards.

A. 912. The Normans, after having ravaged France for seventy years, fixed themselves there, and embraced Christianity. The province called Normandy was settled upon their prince Rollo : and then the archbishop of Rheims consulted his holiness pope John, concerning the manner of conducting and disciplining these new Christians.

A. 915. This John X. was made pope by his whore Theodora, who had great power in Rome^c.

A. 928. Trypho, a monk who was in odour of sanctity, held the see of Constantinople : yet, contrary to all rules, he suffered himself to be appointed only for a time, till Theophylact, the emperor's son, should be of age to receive the patriarchal dignity, which was designed for him. This is

^a Fleury, xi. 637:

^b xi. 641.

^c Ibid. 662.

the first remarkable instance of the abuse which is since called *confidence*, or holding spiritual preferments in trust for another^d.

A. 931. Mary, or Marozia, who governed Rome, caused her bastard John, whom she had by pope Sergius III., to be elected pope when he was only twenty-five years of age. This was John XI.^e

A. 956. Paul the monk, after his death having cured a *dæmoniac*, who was brought to his tomb, Symeon his disciple, vexed at the tumult which this miracle had caused in the chapel, approached to his tomb, and said to him; Is this your aversion from worldly glory? Is this your love of silence and solitude? You are going to involve us in a thousand troubles. Our monastery will be filled with men, women, and children; and what repose shall we have? If you intend thus to disturb us with your miracles, tell us so, and we will remove to another place, and then you may work as many as you think fit. After this remonstrance, the saint cured no more persons in a public manner, though he continued to relieve those who invoked his aid privately, as he had done in his life-time^f.

Saint Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, was a prelate of extraordinary merit, and uncommon learning, for those days^g.

Pope John XII., elected at the age of eighteen, was a monster of iniquity. He was accused and convicted, in a council, of simony, perjury, fornication, adultery, sacrilege, murder, incest, blasphemy, atheism &c. and deposed for these exploits. But he recovered his see, and deposed the pope who had been appointed in his room. His name was Octavianus, but he took that of John XII. and was the first pope who introduced the custom of assuming a new name. His end was suitable to his behaviour; for being one night in bed with another man's wife, he received a blow from an unknown hand, of which he died after eight days, without any other *viaticum* than the knock on the temples, which did his business. Baronius says, from Luitprandus, that it was the devil who gave John that blow; but it seems

^d Fleury, xii. 17.

^e Ibid. 10.

^f Ibid. xii. 107.

^g Ibid. 81.

not probable that Satan would have used his good friend in such a manner. It is more likely that it might be the husband of the adulteress.

About the time that John entered into his see died Theophilus, who at the age of sixteen had been made patriarch of Constantinople, and was much such another saint as John. He openly sold bishoprics and all ecclesiastical offices. He loved hunting and horses even to madness; he kept two thousand, and fed them with all such sort of rarities as they would eat. On a Holy Thursday, as he was at mass, word was brought to him at church that his favourite mare had foaled. He instantly left the church-service in the midst, to pay her a visit, and then came back to make an end of the service. He introduced the custom of dancing in the church on holydays, with immodest postures, accompanied with ridiculous ballads^b.

A. 962. The emperor Otho granted many favours to the pope; but he reserved to himself and to his successors the sovereignty and supreme jurisdiction in Romeⁱ.

A. 969. In the ecclesiastical laws of king Edgar, there are very rigid penances for offenders. But to soften them, was introduced the commutation and redemption of bodily penances. Thus a person of great power and wealth might be assisted by others, and choose out as many persons to fast along with him and for him, as should accomplish in three days the fasts enjoined him for seven years. But then much money was also to be given to the poor, or to pious uses.

As to sinners of low degree, they were to bear their punishment in their own body, according to the rule, ‘*Qui non solvit ex crumena, luat in cute*^k.’

A. 973. Mayeul, abbot of Clugni, was greatly solicited by the emperor to accept of the popedom: but he constantly refused it. I know, said he, that I have not the qualifications requisite for that dignity; and the Romans and I are as far remote from each other in manners as we are in place.

This resolution of mind, says Fleury^l, is perhaps not

^b Fleury, xii. 98. 125. 138.

^k Ibid. xii. 254.

ⁱ Ibid. 119.

^l xii. 191.

the least of the miracles which he is reported to have performed.

A. 980. About this time lived Suidas, the grammarian, a compiler who did not abound in judgment. However, his Lexicon is very useful, and the learned know its value.

‘They only,’ says Le Clerc^m, ‘who are conversant with Greek authors, and skilled in the language, are capable of making proper use of Hesychius, Suidas, Phavorinus, Julius Pollux, and such sort of dictionaries. I could name an eminent divine who made use of them to little purpose, because he had not that sort of learning which was necessary.’

The divine whom Le Clerc had in view, was, as I conjecture, our Hammond.

A. 989. Christianity was established amongst the Russians or Muscovites, who have always preserved the Greek rites in their religious ceremoniesⁿ.

A. 990. Ælfric, a learned English ecclesiastic, recommended to all Christians the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; and condemned the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was then creeping into the church^o.

A. 991. Arnoul, bishop of Orleans, in a council, made a very warm and spirited and judicious oration against the popes of those days, representing them as most execrable monsters. Fleury^p did well to give us this free speech; but he adds with prudent caution, that this honest prelate was rather unguarded in his expressions, and seemed to bring the holy see into contempt.

A. 993. Pope John XV. at the head of a council, placed Uldaric amongst the saints. This is the first authentic act of a *canonization* in form, though the word itself was not yet used^q.

This same John was a vile wretch, who sold every thing to make money of it; a true successor of Simon Magus. He condemned a whole council of bishops, because they had deposed a wicked prelate, and elected another, without asking his leave: but archbishop Gerbert set his decree at

^m Bibl. Chois. x. 294.

ⁿ Fleury, xii. 254.

^o Cave, ii. 108.

^p xii. 268.

^q Fleury, xii. 283. Mosheim, p. 374.

defiance, and reasoned very well against the exorbitant authority claimed in those days by the bishops of Rome^r.

A. 996. Gregory V. nephew to king Otho, was made pope, aged only twenty-four, and the first German who was raised to the see of Rome. A year afterwards, an antipope was made, called John XVI. who had his tongue and his nose cut off, and his eyes put out, and then was flung into prison^s.

Alfric, archbishop of Canterbury, composed a grammar and a dictionary, and translated some books of Scripture into the Saxon or English tongue^t.

A. 998. The festival of All Souls was established; and the worship of the Virgin Mary was carried to a high degree of folly and superstition, which yet hath been increasing from that time to these later ages^u.

Robert, king of France, married Bertha, his cousin-german; for which he was excommunicated, and remained so for two or three years. No one would converse with him, except two servants, who waited upon him; and even they flung into the fire the remains of his victuals, and all the vessels out of which he ate or drank. So says Petrus Damianus; who adds, that from this marriage there sprang forth a monster, with the head and neck of a goose. But Damianus was the truer goose^x.

Towards the latter end of this century, pope Silvester II. endeavoured to excite the Christians to recover the Holy Land, and made the first attempt of a croisade.

At the same time the foundations of the Turkish empire began to be laid; and the Turks prevailed over the Saracens.

In this age, though dark and ignorant, a subtle question was started, relating to dialectics, concerning *universals*^y, as they were called, or the *genera* and *species rerum*, whether they were *realities* and *substances*, or mere *names*.

^r Fleury, xii. 283. 314.

^s Ibid. 314. 320.

^t Ibid. 394.

^u Mosheim, p. 377.

^x Fleury, xii. 333.

^y As, for example, *man*, *horse*, *dog*, &c. signifying not *this* or *that*, in particular, but *all* in general.

Thence arose the sects of the *Realists* and the *Nominalists*. This controversy was warmly agitated for many ages, and caused furious contentions amongst divines and philosophers.

Pope Silvester II. was a learned man, and skilled in the mathematics for those times, and compared with his contemporaries; for which he passed, in the opinion of the monks, for a conjurer and a magician. What he knew of these things, he had learned from the Arabs, or Saracens, particularly those of Spain, to whom was entirely owing the knowledge of physic, philosophy, astronomy, and mathematics in that age, and in the age that ensued.

The prelates and the clergy were in general as ignorant and as profligate as can well be conceived; and the popes were not men, but devils. The reigning vices of the clergy were fornication and simony. The Paulicians or Manichæans increased. Some Arians still remained in Italy; and some Anthropomorphites².

These were times in which, as somebody hath observed, *Kyrieelison* and *Paralipomenon* were accounted two eminent saints of the church; and he who could read Greek passed for a sorcerer.

Notwithstanding this general depravity, some sober and serious Christians were remarkable for acts of charity, or almsgiving; and though these donations might be often not judiciously applied, they seem to have been honestly designed.

‘From the writers of this age it manifestly appears that the essential doctrines of Christianity were either grossly misrepresented, or quite obscured with a mixture of false and foolish opinions. Both the Greek and the Latin were agreed in this, that the very soul and spirit of religion consisted in worshipping images, in honouring dead saints, in collecting and preserving reliques, and in enriching monks and priests. No one dared to address himself to God without having observed these preliminaries. As to the zeal showed in searching after reliques, it was carried to perfect phrensy; and if you will trust to the veracity of monks, the Divine Providence was principally employed in revealing to dreaming old women and to baldpate friars the graves where

² Mosheim, pp. 359. 360. 392. 455. 464. 472. 478.

the bones of holy persons lay reposed. They were all miserably afraid of the fire of purgatory, and dreaded it more than the torments of hell; for these they thought might easily be escaped, if they departed this life enriched with the prayers and merits of the monks and the clergy. The priests, discerning the great profits which arose to them from these terrors, contrived to augment them daily by their discourses upon the subject, by fables, and by false miracles.

The controversies which had been warmly carried on in the preceding century, concerning divine grace and the eucharist, were now fallen asleep. For, as it might be proved by many testimonies, each party left the other at liberty either to retain their opinion or to relinquish it. Nor were they curious in this unlearned age to inquire into the sentiments of learned doctors in these and other points. It would therefore be easy to produce from amongst those who at this time were persons of some note, followers of Augustin, and followers of Pelagius; and also some who thought that the true natural body and blood of Christ was exhibited in the Lord's supper; and others who judged it to be a doubtful matter, or who were of opinion that Christ was only received after a spiritual manner. Yet it must not be imagined that this mutual moderation and forbearance should be ascribed to the prudence and virtue of those times. It was mere ignorance and incapacity of reasoning which kept the peace, and deterred them from entering into debates to which they were unequal.

It might be showed by innumerable testimonies and examples, that superstition reigned triumphant through the whole Christian world, accompanied with a multitude of frivolous and senseless notions, which the priests industriously cherished for the sake of lucre. But of all these opinions adopted by the Latins, to the disgrace and disturbance of the times, none produced worse effects than a persuasion that the last day was at hand. This doctrine had been broached in the preceding century, grounded upon the *Revelation of St. John*^a; and now was generally taught and received in Europe, and produced an excessive terror in the minds of the people. For the apostle, as it was

^a xx. 3, 4.

taken for granted, had clearly foretold that after the tenth decad of years from the birth of Christ ten times repeated, Satan would be let loose, Antichrist would come, and the destruction of the earth would ensue. Hence it came to pass that an innumerable multitude, leaving their possessions, and giving them to churches or monasteries, repaired to Palæstine, where they thought that Christ would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others solemnly devoted themselves and all their goods to churches, to monasteries, and to the clergy, and entered into their service as bond-slaves, performing a daily task. Their hope was, that the Supreme Judge would be favourable to them, if he found them thus occupied in the service of his servants. Hence when there was an eclipse of the sun or moon, they fled to rocks and caverns to hide themselves. Hence others consecrated a great part at least of their effects to God, and to his saints, that is, to priests and friars. Hence in many places they suffered both their own houses and the sacred edifices to go to ruin, or even pulled them down themselves, concluding that they would soon be of no use. Some wise men there were who opposed this vulgar error; but it could not be suppressed before the end of the century^b.

A Saxon homily, written in this century, in the reign of Ethelred II. shows to a demonstration that the English church at that time opposed the doctrine of transubstantiation. See it in Rabin^c.

A. 1000. One Leutard, a poor ignorant man, in the diocese of Chaalons in France, set up for a prophet, and seduced many persons. He had been labouring in the field; and falling asleep, he imagined that a swarm of bees entered into him at the back door, and came out at his mouth, with a great buzzing; that they stung him, and tormented him a long time, and then began to speak to him, and commanded him to do strange and impossible things. Plagued with this vision, he returned home, and quitted his wife, pretending that the Gospel required him so to do. He went then into a church to pray, and seizing on a crucifix, he brake it to pieces. The bystanders were frightened, and supposed him to be out of his senses; but as they were

^b Mosheim, p. 372. Bibl. Univ. ix. 12.

^c i. 143.

simple and credulous peasants, he persuaded them that he acted by inspiration. He told them that only a part of the Scriptures was to be received, and the rest to be rejected as useless; and that they were under no obligation to pay their tithes. The bishop of the diocese had a conference with him, and confuted all his frivolous pretensions, and convinced his followers that they had been seduced by him; upon which the poor wretch, finding himself confounded and deserted, went and flung himself into a well.

About the same time another fanatic started up at Ravenna, who was by profession a grammarian. One night he dreamed that the three poets, Virgil, Homer, and Juvenal appeared to him, thanking him for the pains which he took to illustrate their writings, and promising him a share of their glory. Puffed up with this vision, he began to dogmatize, and to teach things contrary to the Christian faith; and to maintain that all things contained in the poets were to be believed. He was condemned as an heretic by the archbishop; and many being found up and down in Italy infected with the same error, they were extirpated by fire and sword. At the same time many heretics came forth from Sardinia, and corrupted several Christians in Spain, and were also destroyed by the Catholics. This inundation of errors was supposed to be the accomplishment of St. John's prophecy in the Revelation, that after a thousand years Satan should be let loose^d.

A. 1009. Peter was made pope, and took the name of Sergius IV. He is the first pope, by birth a Roman, who changed his name^e.

A. 1010. The prince of Babylon had destroyed the church of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem; and it was a confirmed opinion in France that it was done by the instigation of the Jews. Glauber, the monk, relates it thus: The Jews were filled with indignation to see the innumerable multitude of Christian pilgrims, who repaired to the holy sepulchre. The Jews at Orleans, who were numerous and bold, gained over by bribes a runaway servant from a monastery, who travelled about in the guise of a pilgrim, and gave him a letter to the prince of Babylon, admonishing

^d Fleury, xii. 372.

^e Ibid. 385.

him that if he did not speedily destroy that place so venerable in the sight of the Christians, they would come and take away his dominions. The prince took the alarm, and sent men to Jerusalem, who totally demolished the church, and endeavoured with iron bars to break the grotto of the sepulchre, but could not. This was the second time that the church was destroyed : it had been burnt by the Persians in the year 613.

It was soon generally known that this disaster was owing to the malice of the Jews : and the Christians with one consent resolved to expell them. They became objects of public hatred, they were driven out of the cities, many were drowned, and put to death various ways, and some killed themselves ; so that few of them appeared in Christendom. The bishops forbad all Christians to hold any communication with them, except they were converted. Many therefore of the Jews received baptism, through fear of death, and afterwards relapsed to their old customs.

The false pilgrim returning to Orleans was discovered by another pilgrim, and being seized and tortured, confessed his crime, and was burnt.—Not long after this, king Henry drove the Jews from Mentz. The Greeks relate the thing in a different manner, &c.^f

One head of John the Baptist (for there are many, and John was at last *ἐκατοντακεφάλας*) was found at the monastery of St. John of Angeli in Saintonge^g.

A. 1022. Bouchard, bishop of Worms, was accounted one of the most learned prelates in his time, and of a sober and exemplary life and conversation. When he died, the inventory of his worldly goods and chattels consisted of an hair-shirt, an iron chain which served him for a belt, and in money three deniers. Times are altered, and with them the inventories of bishops.

Some, both ecclesiastics and laymen, being discovered to be Manichæans, were burnt at Orleans, and others at Toulouse^h.

A. 1024. John XIX. a layman, was made pope by dint of money.

A. 1025. Some monks had pleaded an exemption from

^f Fleury, xii. 386.

^g Ibid. 441.

^h Ibid. 426. 433.

episcopal jurisdiction, by virtue of a privilege granted by the pope. But the council of Anse rejected their plea; which shows that the prelates of those days did not think popes to be above the antient canons and constitutions of the churchⁱ.

Simony at this time was universally practised, particularly in Italy. St. Romualdus exerted himself, and preached against it with vehemence. 'But,' says Damianus, the writer of his Life, (who was a bishop) 'I much question whether he ever reformed one man: for this poisonous heresy is the most stubborn and difficult of all to be cured, especially amongst the clergy of higher rank. They promise amendment, and they defer it from day to day; so that it is easier even to convert a Jew than a bishop^k.'

A. 1027. The famous musician Guido of Arezzo, a monk, invented the *gamut*, and the six notes, UT, RE, MI, FA, SOL, LA, by the help of which a young person could learn to chant in a few months, better than many men had been able to do in as many years. These syllables he took from the three first lines of the hymn to St. John,

'UT queant laxis, &c.^l'

A. 1030. It was now a custom to baptize church-bells, and also to add oil and chrism^m.

'They were well meaning and honest, but ignorant and illiterate men, whom Gerhard, bishop of Cambray and Arras, converted and brought over to the church, at a synod held in the year 1030. They had received their tenets from some Italians; and believed, as they themselves acknowledged, that the whole of religion consisted in a pious disposition, and a behaviour suitable to the divine precepts, and that all external worship was to be slighted. In particular;

'1. They rejected baptism, especially of infants, as a rite of no utility towards salvation.

'2. For the same reason, they rejected the Lord's supper.

'3. They held that temples were not more sacred than private houses.

ⁱ Fleury, xii. 464.

^k Ibid. 466. xiii. 51.

^l Ibid. xii. 473.

^m Ibid. 491.

‘ 4. They said that altars were only a heap of stones, and worthy of no honour.

‘ 5. They condemned the use of incense, and of consecrated oil, in religious rites.

‘ 6. They also rejected the use of bells.

‘ 7. They denied the divine institution of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as ministers of the church ; and said that the order of doctors was unnecessary in a Christian congregation.

‘ 8. They said that funeral rites were invented to gratify the avarice of the priests ; and that it mattered not whether a man were buried in holy ground, or any where else.

‘ 9. They affirmed that penitence, as it was then understood, namely, voluntary sufferings undergone to expiate past offences, was of no utility.

‘ 10. They denied that the sins of those who suffered in purgatory might be remitted by means of masses, alms, and vicarious penances ; and doubtless they rejected also the doctrine of a purgatory.

‘ 11. They condemned marriage, as pernicious and unlawfulⁿ.

‘ 12. They allowed some worship or honour to be paid to the apostles and martyrs, but would not grant the same to confessors ; meaning thereby all those who were called saints, but had not suffered death for the sake of Christ. They said that their bones were not more sacred than those of other people.

‘ 13. They held that chanting of psalms or hymns in churches and religious assemblies was superstitious and unlawful.

‘ 14. They said that the cross was not more holy than another piece of wood, and that no reverence was to be paid to it.

‘ 15. They affirmed that the images of Christ and of the saints ought to be removed out of the churches, and by no means to be adored.

‘ 16. Lastly, They condemned a diversity of degrees and of authority amongst the ministers of the Gospel.

ⁿ I think it very improbable that this should have been one of their doctrines.

‘Whosoever considers the corrupted condition of religion in these times, will not think it strange that multitudes of persons all over Europe, who had a sense of piety and morality, should have gone into these and into such like opinions.’

But rather for want of knowledge than of honesty, whilst they rejected many abominable corruptions, they also ran into some opposite extremes.

‘Dum vitant vitia, in contraria currunt.’

Robert, king of France, informed Gualin, archbishop of Bourges, that in some parts of his kingdom it had rained blood, which was of such a nature, that if it fell upon flesh, clothes, or stones, it could not be washed off; but if it fell upon wood, the stain was easily got out. He asks him if there were any instance to be found of such a rain. The prelate answered him that this prodigy portended a civil war, and he relates divers examples of the same kind taken from history; to which he adds some mystical reasons^p.

A. 1033. To John XIX. succeeded Theophylact his nephew, aged only twelve years, and chosen by bribery. He was called Benedict IX. and occupied the see eleven years and some months, dishonouring his station by his most infamous life. Thus simony reigned triumphant at Rome for the space of twenty-five years.

He made himself daily more and more odious by his wicked behaviour, and by the rapines and murders which he committed. The Romans, no longer able to suffer them, expelled him from Rome, and from the pontificate^q, and chose Silvester III. in his room. But neither did Silvester acquire the popedom *gratis*, nor did he hold it more than three months; for Benedict, who was of the family of the counts of Tusculum, by the assistance of his relations so harassed Rome, that he recovered his station. But as he continued his scandalous course of life, and found himself despised and detested both by clergy and laity, he agreed to retire, to abandon himself more freely to his pleasures. Stipulating therefore to receive a sum of money, he resigned his

^p Mosheim, p. 438.

^q A. 1044.

^r Du Pin, T. viii. P. ii. p. 6.

place to Gratianus, called Gregory VI. and went to live in his own territories^r:

The holy abbot Poppo waited upon the emperor Saint Henry, to procure some favours for his monastery. He gained the good graces of this prince: he also persuaded him to renounce a diversion in which he used to take pleasure. It was to expose to the bears a naked man smeared all over with honey. He so effectually convinced the emperor and his nobles of the barbarity of this show, that he caused it to be abolished^s.

A. 1039. Casimire, son of a king of Poland, being a monk, who had made his vows, and was in deacon's orders, obtained from the pope a dispensation to accept the crown of Poland, and to take a wife. But the pontiff wisely stipulated a certain annual rent to be paid to his holiness^t.

‘ Rem facias; rem
Si possis, recte; si non, quocumque modo rem.’

A. 1041. The abbot Richard went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and being there on Saturday, in the holy week, he assisted at the ceremony of the *new fire*, which in those days was thought to descend miraculously into the holy sepulchre^u.

Maundrel, if I remember right, and other modern travellers have described this ridiculous ceremony.

A. 1044. Gregory VI. carried his martial rage so far, under pretence of defending the church, that he acquired the name of the *Bloody*; and even his cardinals admonished him, when he was dying, not to cause himself to be buried in St. Peter's church with his predecessors^x.

About this time was instituted the festival of All Souls, or prayers and commemorations for the benefit of the dead^y.

A. 1051. Some Manichæans were discovered, and put to death^z.

A. 1053. Leo IX. disputing in a letter with the patriarch of Constantinople, says;

^r Fleury, xii. 515, &c.

^s Ibid. 517.

^t Ibid. 519.

^u Ibid. 533.

^x L'Enfant, Conc. de P. ii. 50.

^y Fleury, xii. 561. See above, p. 225. A. 998.

^z Ibid. 600.

* You take eunuchs, and ordain them bishops, which hath given occasion to a common report, that a woman hath sat in the see of Constantinople : but this is a crime so abominable that we cannot give credit to it.'

This reproach, says Fleury, makes it probable that the fable of pope Joan was not yet invented : for she is placed between Leo IV. and Benedict III. about two hundred years before Leo IX.

Humbert, in an answer to the objections of the Greeks, cites the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of Exodus, and the twenty-third of Leviticus ; which shows that the present divisions of chapters was then established^a.

A. 1059. Nicolas II. endeavoured to restrain the privilege of electing popes to a certain number of cardinals ; which was accomplished in the next century by Alexander III^b.

A. 1062. Petrus Damianus wrote the Life of his friend *Dominicus*, called *Loricatus*, whose austerities and flagellations were childish, superstitious, astonishing and shocking. But such was the piety of those times. I find, says Fleury^c, no examples of those voluntary and severe flagellations before this eleventh century, when they began to grow common. But it is not in the writings of Damianus that we must seek for judgment and reasoning.

A. 1067. We have a strange story of a trial by fire, through which one Peter, a monk, passed unhurt, to prove that the bishop of his diocese was guilty of simony^d.

A. 1068. Alexander II. wrote a letter to all the bishops of Gaul, in which he says ;

We have heard with pleasure that you have protected the Jews who dwell amongst you, that they might not be slain by those who went to fight the Saracens in Spain. Thus St. Gregory declared formerly that it was an impiety to attempt to exterminate them ; since God by his merciful providence hath preserved them to live dispersed over the earth, after having lost their country and their liberty, for the punishment of the crime of their forefathers. Their case is

^a Fleury, xiii. 10.

^b Mosheim, p. 398.

^c xiii. 102. 215.

^d Ibid. 187.

very different from that of the Saracens, against whom war is just, because they persecute the Christians, and drive them from their habitations and their cities; whilst the Jews every where submit to servitude^e.

A. 1071. The abbot Desiderius undertaking to build a magnificent monastery at Monte Cassino, sent persons to Constantinople, who procured architects, and workmen in marble and mosaic; for these arts had been lost in Italy above five hundred years^f.

A. 1072. Adam of Breme, an historian of great sincerity, wrote the Antiquities and the History of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and the neighbouring islands^g.

A. 1073. The execrable tyrant Hildebrand was made pope, and called Gregory VII. This was the first man who subverted all the antient privileges of kings and princes, of councils and bishops, of clergy and laity, and established the dominion of the pope, as king of kings, and lord of lords.

He made severe laws against simony, and against the concubinage or matrimony which almost universally prevailed amongst ecclesiastics. He and his successors would not allow the clergy to keep either wives or concubines. It was expected of them that they should content themselves *venere vulgivaga*, with fornication, adultery, &c. But a violent opposition was made to these wicked decrees, especially by the sober and sensible part of the clergy, who were married men.

‘Hildebrand was a man of a high spirit, equal to the greatest undertakings; intrepid, quick of understanding and judgment; but beyond measure proud, stubborn, intractable, vehement, and void of all piety and religion, the most haughty and audacious of all the popes. The Roman church worships him amongst the patrons and intercessors in the court of heaven, although he hath not been canonized in due form. Paul V. in the beginning of the seventeenth century, dedicated a holy-day to him on the twenty-fifth of May. But the European princes, particularly the emperor and the king of France, will not permit

^e Fleury, xiii, 190.

^f Ibid. 207.

^g Ibid. 227.

him to be enlisted amongst the saints of the calendar, and publicly worshipped in their dominions; and in our days there have been contests about it with Benedict XIII^h.

This wretch, who persecuted the married clergy without mercy; who deposed the emperor, and gave his kingdom to another; who made him stand barefoot and fasting in frost and snow, and covered with a piece of woollen, for three days, before he would admit him to his presence, defended his conduct by various arguments; the folly, futurity, and impudence of which Fleury hath fairly enough exposed.

Otho, a bishop who lived in the next century, and was too much attached to the popes and to their authority, yet owns, in his History of those times, that the whole empire was scandalized at this innovation. I examine again and again, says he, the History of the Roman Emperors, and I cannot find that any one of them was ever excommunicated and deprived of his kingdom by a pope.

In truth, this pontiff had all the marks of Antichrist upon him; and his religion was nothing more than grimace.

He wrote a very complaisant letter to a Mahometan prince, in which he says to him; You and we adore one and the same God, though in a different manner. I wish you everlasting happiness in Abraham's bosom. Good!

Great was the intimacy and friendship between Gregory and the countess Matilda. This foolish princess gave her dominions to the pope, and to the see of Rome, which were no less than all Tuscany, and a great part of Lombardy, reserving to herself only the use and profits of them during her life. The enemies of Gregory, of whom he had plenty, accused him of a criminal correspondence with this lady. Lambertus the historian says that it was a mere calumny; and gives this admirable proof, that Gregory wrought many miracles, and therefore could not be a fornicator.

He would not suffer the Bohemians to celebrate the divine service in their own language, which was the Slavonian. Fleury condemns this decision of the pope.

He died in the year 1085, and many miracles were

^h Mosheim, p. 400—412.

wrought at his tomb. Pope Anastasius IV. had him painted in a church of Rome, amongst other saints, about sixty years after his death. In the year 1584 his name was inserted in the Roman martyrology, corrected by order of Gregory XIII. And Paul V., by a brief in the year 1609, permitted the archbishop and the chapter of Salernum to honour him as a saint in a public serviceⁱ.

At this time heretics in general were called *patarini*; and violent quarrels arose about *investitures*, or the right of patronage in the laity, which Gregory VII. was resolved to take from them; and this caused the war between the pope and the emperor Henry IV., and subsequent contests between the church and the state.

‘If I am not mistaken, the terrible contentions between the emperors and the popes about the inauguration of bishops and abbots would not have been carried on with such bitterness, or have continued for so long a time, if men of a liberal education and a generous mind had presided over the church. But for the space of fifty years the church was governed by a succession of five monks; men of an obscure and mean birth, of brutish manners, and incapable of compliance, infected with the true spirit of monkery, that is, with an inflexible obstinacy. As soon as ever persons of an ingenuous and enlarged mind ascended St. Peter’s throne, a different face of things appeared, and a fair prospect of peace^k.’

A. 1076. Anselm, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, drew up a demonstration of the being of God in the metaphysical way. His zeal for the see of Rome procured him the title of saint^l.

A. 1077. Lambertus, a German monk, was the best writer at that time in the Christian world. He was author of a General History, of which Joseph Scaliger says:

‘Equidem miror in sæculo tam barbaro tantam hominis et in loquendo puritatem, et in temporum putatione solertiam fuisse, ut chronologis nostri temporis pudorem ali-

ⁱ Cave, ii. 151. Fleury, xiii. 251. 334. 383. xiv. 48. Du Pin, viii. 31. Bibl. Univ. ix. 20. Bibl. A. et M. viii. where Le Clerc hath given us his Life. Bayle, *Gregoire* vii. Barbeyrac, *Mor. des Peres*, p. 118.

^k Mosheim, p. 458.

^l Fleury, xiii. 361. Rapin, i. 219.

quem exprimere possit, si aliquem sensum harum rerum haberent.'

Barthius also calls him a writer :

'Quo scriptor nemo politius, inter veteres, res Germanicæ literis commisit^m.'

A. 1079. Hugo, duke of Burgundy, an excellent ruler, embraced the monastic state. Gregory VII. was much displeased at it; and, in a letter to the abbot who had admitted him, he says: You have received a duke into your monastery, and you have deprived a hundred thousand Christians of a protector, and exposed them to all kind of evils. We have plenty of good monks, and of good private persons, but a great scarcity of good princes.

The pope's judgment in this point was just and right; and ought to be celebrated, as it is the only good thing that can be said of himⁿ.

A. 1081. Alexius Comnenus^o was made emperor of Constantinople. His ingenious daughter, Anna Comnena, hath written his Life, or his Panegyric. He is grievously accused by the Latins of having betrayed and used them very ill in their expedition to the Holy Land. But, in truth, he had just reason to fear and to abhor such assisters and visiters, who had God in their mouth, and the devil in their heart; who were perfect ruffians, and the scum and filth of the western world, and, in point of morals and religion, not one jot better than the infidels; and who afterwards, instead of fighting the Mahometans, took Constantinople, and set up a Latin emperor.

Anna Comnena^p mentions an artificial fire, or the *ignus Græcus*, which burned with great violence, and was used in war. It was made, says she, of the gum of pines and of other trees that are ever-green, mixed with sulphur, and reduced to a powder.

In the days of Alexius, there were heretics called *Bogomili*, and supposed to be a sort of Manichæans. Their leader, called Basilius, was condemned to be burnt, and had declared that the fire would not hurt him. The Greeks

^m See Cave, ii. 153.

ⁿ See Fleury, xiii. 383.

^o See Cousin, Hist. de Const. Avertissement, t. iv.

^p xiii. 2.

who carried him to execution, first took off his cloak, and flung it into the fire, to try whether it would prove combustible. Whilst it was burning, the poor fanatic cried out, Do you not see that my cloak is untouched, and carried away in the air? Upon which they cast him also into the fire, where he was soon consumed to ashes^t.

‘Bogomili fuerunt Ariani.—Eorum præcipuus hyperaspistes Basilius combustus dicitur ab Alexio Comneno imperatore, postquam quinquaginta duobus annis prædicasset non esse Trinitatem, et Christum fuisse archangelum Michaellem.—Alias etiam dicti *Bulgari*, seu *Bulgares*, vel more Gallico corrupte, *Bugares*; et hodie Galli jocose utuntur appellatione *Bougre*, eo sensu quo Helvetii *Raetser* seu *Gazari* abutuntur—Porro sicut *Bulgari* nomen cessit in abusum, ita et *boni hominis* appellatio (Ariani enim in Gallia se *bonos homines* vocabant) hodie in Gallia et Teutonia denotat *Cornutum*, fortassis propter patientiam horum temporum hæreticorum^s.’

A. 1084. The Carthusian order, one of the most rigid monastic institutions, was founded by St. Bruno, a fanatic. It hath least of any degenerated from its primitive rigour; and it hath made its way in the world much slower than other orders. There are only a few Carthusian nunneries; and in those few there is a relaxation of some severities, particularly of a perpetual silence, which doubtless was too heavy an imposition upon the fair sex^t.

A. 1089. ‘A dispute of a subtle nature was stirred up in France by Roscelinus, canon of Compiègne, a considerable logician of those times, and the head of the sect of the *Nominalists*. He denied that it was possible to conceive how the Son of God could take upon him the human nature, separately from the Father and the Holy Ghost, unless the three divine persons were three THINGS, or natures separately existing, like three angels, or three souls; although these three divine Existences had one power and one will. Being admonished, that by affirming this he made three Gods, he frankly replied, that, if the expression might be permitted, it would be true to affirm that

^t Cousin, xv. 9. Fleury, xiv. 144.

^s Sandius, Hist. Eccl. p. 386.

^t Mosheim, p. 408. Fleury, xiii. 515. xiv. 38.

there were three Gods. He was compelled to retract this position in a French council^u. But the danger being blown over, he resumed it again: for which he was banished. Taking refuge in England, he again caused new commotions; for he vehemently contended that the sons of priests, who were born out of lawful wedlock, ought by no means to be admitted into holy orders; which in those days was a most odious doctrine. So being expelled from England, he returned to France, and, living at Paris, renewed the old quarrel.—

‘If I am not mistaken, this whole controversy took its rise from the violent contentions between the *Realists* and the *Nominalists*. The former seem to have deduced this consequence from the doctrines of the latter; amongst whom Roscelinus was eminent. If, said they, according to you, *universal substances* are mere NAMES, and the dialectic art hath for its object WORDS alone, it will follow that the three *Persons* also in the Deity are, in your opinion, not THINGS, but NAMES. Not so, said Roscelinus; the Father, the Son, and the Spirit are not mere *names*, but belong to the class of *things*, or *beings*, or *realities*. But our logician by avoiding Scylla fell into Charybdis; for his adversaries from his concessions concluded that he had adopted *Tritheism**.’

Difficult indeed it was both for Roscelinus and for his antagonists to steer between *Tritheism* and *Sabellianism*.

‘The popes would not suffer those of their community to use any tongue but the Latin in their public service.

‘Whilst the Latin language prevailed amongst all the nations of the West, or was unknown only to a few, there was no considerable reason why it should not have been kept up in the religious assemblies of Christians. But when the language, together with the dominion of the Romans, declined by degrees, and at last was quite lost, it was just and fit that every nation should make use of its own in celebrating divine service. Yet this favour could not be obtained from the popes in this and the following ages; and the Latin ritual was obtruded upon the common

^u A. 1092.

* Mosheim, p. 439. Fleury, xiii. 552. Cave, ii. 178.

people, who understood it not. Various causes for this perverse behaviour have been assigned by various persons; and some of their conjectures seem to be too refined and farfetched. The principal reason was undoubtedly a superstitious respect for antiquity. From the same motive the eastern Christians fell into the same fault, of whom the Egyptians in their religious service retain the old Coptic, the Jacobites and Nestorians the Syriac, and the Abyssines the Æthiopic language, although they be quite obsolete and unintelligible to the vulgar^y.

* The Manichæans or Paulicians, who dwelt in Bulgaria and Thrace, were persecuted by the Greeks. They spread themselves in Italy, and in other parts of Europe; and then the popes waged war with them. They were called *Paterini*, *Cathari*, *Albigenses*, *Bulgari*, *Boni Homines*, &c. Some of them were burnt for their heresy; but many of them seem to have adopted very little of the Manichæan system.

† The Manichæans of Orleans were Mystics, who despised the external worship of God; allowed no efficacy to rites and ceremonies, or even to the sacraments; accounted true religion to consist in contemplation, or in elevating the mind to God and to divine things; and philosophized concerning the Deity, and the three Persons in God, with too much refinement, and with more subtlety than that age would admit. These refiners, who arose in Italy, in subsequent times were diffused through Europe, and in Germany were called *Fratres liberi spiritus*, *Free-thinkers*, and in other provinces *Beghardi*^z.

A custom was introduced for the priests in the Latin church to pronounce the words of consecration in the eucharist in so low a voice, that none of the congregation should hear them. The council of Trent hath anathematized all those who presume to condemn this stupid and ridiculous practice:

‘Si quis dixerit ecclesiæ Romanæ ritum, quo submissa voce verba consecrationis proferuntur, damnandum esse, anathema sit^a.’

^y Mosheim, p. 434.

^z Ibid. p. 437.

^a Dallæus, De Cult. Lat. p. 1021—1050.

In this century began the *croisades*, attempted by Gregory VII. ; carried into execution, at the instigation of Peter the Hermit, by Urban II., in the year 1095. In the following year eight hundred thousand men went forth on this pious expedition.

‘The principal motive which excited Urban and other pontiffs to wage this holy war, arose, in my opinion, from the superstitious ignorance of the times, and the corrupted state of religion. It was thought a disgrace to Christianity to suffer a land, consecrated by the footsteps and the blood of Jesus Christ, to be left in the possession of his enemies ; and pilgrimages to holy places were accounted meritorious acts of devotion ; though, at the same time, the Mahometan possessors of Palæstine had reason enough to be alarmed at them. To this motive for a croisade was added a dread lest the Turcomans, who had already conquered a great part of the Greek empire, should pass over into Europe and invade Italy. There are learned men who think that the pope stirred up this war with a view to increase his own authority, and to weaken the power of the Latin emperors and kings ; and that the European princes concurred with him, hoping to send away the most powerful and warlike of their subjects, and to strip them of their lands and riches. These are ingenious conjectures, but they are no more than conjectures. As soon indeed as the pontiffs, kings, and princes learned by experience what great profits accrued to them from these wars, the desire of acquiring power and wealth were new inducements added to the former.

Yet from these wars, whether just or unjust, innumerable evils of every kind ensued, both in church and state, the remains of which are still felt. Europe was deprived of the greatest part of her inhabitants, an immense quantity of money was carried away to remote regions, and many illustrious and wealthy families either perished entirely, or were reduced to obscurity and beggary ; for the heads of such houses had pawned or sold their estates to support themselves with necessaries for their journey. Other lords imposed intolerable taxes on their subjects or vassals, who, being terrified by such exactions, chose rather to leave their farms and houses, and join in the croisade. Hence arose the utmost confusion and disorder through all Europe.

I pass over the pillages, murders, and massacres committed in all places with impunity by these pious soldiers of God and of Jesus Christ, as they were called; as also new and pernicious rights and privileges to which these wars gave rise and occasion.

‘Nor did Christianity suffer less than the state from these miserable wars. The Roman pontiff gained a vast accession of power and dignity. The wealth of churches and monasteries was many ways considerably increased. The priests and the monks, whilst their bishops and abbots were gone into Asia, led lawless and scandalous lives, and indulged themselves in all sorts of vices without control. Superstition, which was excessive before, became still more prevalent amongst the Latins: for the catalogue of tutelar saints, already very numerous, was augmented with a crew of eastern saints, unknown before in the western world, and some of them unknown even at home. An amazing cargo of reliques was also imported; for all who returned from Asia came loaded with this sort of trash, bought at a great price of cheating and lying Greeks and Syrians, and either presented them to churches and religious places, or laid them up in their own houses, to be preserved there as an invaluable treasure^b.’

‘The ecclesiastics of the Latin church were at this time corrupted to the last degree; those of the Greek church were not quite so bad, because the distresses and calamities of their empire checked them in some measure, and stifled those enormities which plenty and ease and laziness produce in ill-disposed minds.

‘The monks of the West, most ignorant and profligate wretches, had great power and wealth, and were leagued in strict union with the popes, and exempted in a great measure from all other superior jurisdiction.

‘Some attempts however were made to restore literature, which had sunk so low in the preceding century^c.’

Matthew Paris says of the clergy of those days; ‘*Adeo literaturâ carebant, ut cæteris stupori esset qui grammaticam didicisset.*’

^b Mosheim, p. 383. Fleury, xiii. 615. xiv. 47.

^c Mosheim, p. 394. 414.

From the days of Gregory VII, we find in some regions of Europe, particularly in Italy and France, manifest indications of those persons who by the Protestants are commonly called *witnesses of the truth*, namely, of serious and pious people who deplored the corrupted state of religion, and the vices of the whole ecclesiastical order; who opposed the exorbitant claims of the pope and of the prelates, and who, some openly and some secretly, attempted to bring on a reformation. For how rude soever and illiterate and ignorant of revealed truths the age might be, yet those few fragments of the Gospel which were proposed to the multitude were sufficient to inform the lowest of the vulgar that the religion commonly received was not the religion of Jesus Christ; and that he required quite other things from his followers than the popes, bishops, and priests either taught or practised; that they made a vile use of their power and revenues; and, lastly, that the favour and blessing of God was not to be obtained by empty ceremonies, by liberal oblations to temples and priests, by building and endowing monasteries, but by purity of heart and an upright behaviour.

But they who thus undertook the arduous task of healing the distempers of the church were frequently unequal to the attempt, and by shunning one fault fell into another. They all discerned the corrupted state of the religion commonly received, but none or very few of them were acquainted with the true nature and spirit of the Gospel; which will not seem strange to those who duly consider the infelicity of the times. Therefore with some opinions which were right, they often mixed many which were erroneous. Plainly perceiving that most of the enormous crimes of the priests and bishops arose from a superfluity of wealth, they thought that the church could hardly be too necessitous, and accounted a voluntary poverty to be the principal virtue of a pious teacher. They all held the primitive church to be an eternal pattern which the Christian world was obliged strictly to follow; and the conduct and condition of the apostles to be an invariable rule for the clergy. Many of them being grieved to see the people place their hopes of salvation in certain ceremonies and in outward rites, inculcated the opposite notion, that true religion was only that of the mind, and consisted in a contempla-

tion on divine things, and despised and rejected all external worship, temples, religious assemblies, doctors, and sacraments^d.

Certain it is, that if too much plenty hath a tendency to make the clergy vicious, extreme want will make them contemptible.

Berengarius, Lanfrancus, and Anselmus gave rise to the scholastic theology, by applying logic and philosophy to divinity; and systems or bodies of divinity were now first drawn up. Nor were the mystical divines unemployed in their way^e.

The contentions were warm between the Latins and the Greeks, fomented by the popes and by the patriarchs of Constantinople; the first wanting to be supreme, the latter wanting to be independent.

^f The Greek emperor, Constantinus Monomachus, desiring to pacify this quarrel at its rise, entreated the Roman pontiff to send legates to Constantinople, to treat about terms of a re-union. The pope sent three legates, and gave them letters to the emperor and to the Greek patriarch. But the event of this embassy was extremely unfortunate, although the emperor, for political causes, was more disposed to favour the Latins than the Greeks. For the letters of Leo IX., full of pride and arrogance, alienated the mind of the patriarch Cerularius; and the legates themselves plainly showed by many instances that their errand was not to restore concord, but to bring the Greek under an absolute subjection to the Roman church. Thus all attempts to bring about a pacification being dropped, the Roman legates proceeded to an action than which nothing could be more unseasonable, imprudent, and impudent. They openly, in the temple of St. Sophia^f, anathematized the patriarch, with Leo Acridanus, and all his adherents; and having laid a copy of this solemn execration upon the principal altar, they shook the dust off from their feet, and departed. By this abominable procedure all hopes of a reconciliation were lost, and the schism became incurable. The Greek patriarch returned the affront; and in a council condemned the legates, and all who took their part, declared them unworthy of Christian communion; and, by

^d Mosheim, p. 422.

^e Ibid. p. 423.

^f A. 1054.

the emperor's order, caused the copy of the excommunication, which the legates had laid upon the altar, to be publicly burnt. Then followed a literary war, and writings on both sides full of insult and contumely, which furnished new fuel to keep up the fire^g.

Berengarius wrote against the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, and held only the spiritual eating and drinking of him. He seems to have had the same opinion which was afterwards that of Calvin. For this he was persecuted, excommunicated, condemned, and compelled to recant: but it is thought that he never quitted his first opinion. The audacious and insolent pope Gregory VII. was much inclined to favour and protect him. Lanfranc, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, wrote in defence of transubstantiation against him; and so did Guimond^h.

In antient times the name *papa*, pope, was given to all bishops; and it is only since Gregory VII. that it hath been appropriated to the bishop of Rome.

A. 1090. Ildebert, bishop of Mans, accused of high treason by William Rufus king of England, offered to undergo the trial by fire, but was dissuaded by Ivo bishop of Chartres, such an action being contrary to the canons. Yet pope Eugenius II. not only approved but introduced the trial by cold water. They used also to say mass over a cake of unleavened barley bread, and a piece of cheese made of sheep's milk, to discover those who were accused of theft. It was believed that when mass was said over them, the cake which was laid upon the altar would turn round of itself, if the person was guilty, and he would not be able to swallow the bread and cheese; and from this custom, as Du Cange thinks, arose an imprecation still common amongst the vulgar; May this morsel choke me!

Menage hath given us the mass which was said on this occasion; and shows to what lengths superstition was carried in those ages of darkness.

There was also an exorcism used to drive the devil out

^g Mosheim, p. 425.

^h Ibid. p. 428. Fleury, xii. 577. xiii. 70. Cave, ii. 130. Bibl. Univ. ix. 10. 28. Du Pin, t. viii. p. ii. p. 6.

of the bread and cheese, lest he should hinder the effect of the conjuration; and two prayers, to beseech God that the mouth of the thief might swell, and that he might foam and cry, and that the morsel might not pass through his throat till he owned himself guilty, &c.†

A. 1094. St. Nicolas, called *Peregrinus*, was famous in Apulia. He was a Greek, born in Attica. His parents were poor, and he had not learned to read, or been bred to any trade. When he was eight years of age, his mother sent him out to take care of the sheep. From that time he began to sing aloud, *Kyrie eleison*, which he did night and day; and this act of devotion he performed all his life long. His mother not being able to make him leave it off, thought that he was possessed of the devil, and carried him to a neighbouring monastery, where the monks shut him up and chastised him, but could not hinder him from singing his song. He suffered punishment patiently, and immediately began again. Returning to his mother, he took a hatchet and a knife, and clambering up a mountain, he cut branches of cedar, and made crosses of them, which he stuck up in the highways, and in places inaccessible, praising God continually. Upon this mountain he built himself a little hut, and dwelt there some time all alone, working perpetually. Then he went to Lepanto, where a monk joined himself to him, and never forsook him. They passed into Italy, where Nicolas was taken sometimes for a holy man, and sometimes for a madman. He fasted every day till evening; his food was a little bread and water, and yet he did not grow lean. The nights he usually passed in prayer, standing upright. He wore only a short vest, reaching to his knees, his head, legs and feet being naked. In his hand he carried a light wooden cross, and a scrip at his side, to receive the alms which were given him, and which he usually laid out in fruit, to distribute to the boys who went about with him, singing along with him *Kyrie eleison*. His oddities caused him to be ill-used sometimes, even by the orders of the bishops. He performed various miracles, and exhorted the people to repentance. At last falling sick, and visited by multitudes who came to beg

† Bibl. Univ. v. 402.

his blessing, he died, and was buried in a cathedral with great solemnity; and, according to custom, a great number of miracles was wrought at his tomb^k.

It was still the custom at this time to receive the sacrament in both kinds^l.

A. 1096. The *croisez*, or pious pilgrims, set out in vast numbers for the holy war. All were not animated with the same sort of zeal. Some went because they would not leave their friends and companions; some, who were military men, because they would not pass for poltroons; some through levity and the love of rambling; some, who were deeply in debt, that they might escape from their creditors. Many monks flung off the frock, and took up arms; and an army of women accompanied them, dressed like men, and carrying on the trade of prostitutes.

Not long after, a second host set forth, in number two hundred thousand, without a commander, and without discipline. These pilgrims resolved to fall upon the Jews, wheresoever they found them, and to destroy them. They did so, particularly at Cologne and at Mentz. At Spire, the Jews fled to the royal palace, and there defended themselves, being assisted by the bishop, who afterwards put some Christians to death upon that account. At Worms, the Jews, pursued by the Christians, repaired to the bishop, who refused to protect them unless they would receive baptism. They desired some time to consider of it; and entering into an apartment in the bishop's house, whilst the Christians staid without, in expectation of their answer, they all slew themselves.

The Jews at Treves saw the *croisez* coming upon them. Some of them took their own children and stabbed them, saying that it was better to send them thus to Abraham's bosom than to expose them to the cruelty of the Christians. Some of their women fled to the river, and, loading themselves with stones, leaped into the water. Others, taking their goods and their children, retired to the palace, which was a sanctuary, and the habitation of the archbishop Egilbert: with tears they besought his protection; and he, laying hold on the occasion, exhorted them to be converted, promising them safety if they would receive baptism. Their rabbin,

^k Fleury, xiii. 586.

^l Ibid. 611.

Micaiah, prayed the archbishop to instruct them in the elements of the Christian faith. The bishop did so ; and then both the rabbin and the rest of them professed Christianity, and were baptized by the bishop and by his clergy. But Micaiah alone persevered in his profession : the rest apostatized a year afterwards^m.

A. 1097. The emperor Alexis was terrified at this inundation of Franks, and thought that their design was to seize on his dominions. He therefore treated their leaders with much respect, but was resolved to do them all the hurt that he could. And, to say the truth, they gave him too much cause for it. Their troops encamped near Constantinople, demolished all the best houses in the country, and unroofed the churches, and sold the lead that covered them to the Greeks themselves. They acted no better in Asia, pillaging and burning houses and churchesⁿ.

A. 1098. The croisez took Antioch ; and one of their ecclesiastics found there, by revelation as he pretended, the spear with which Christ was pierced. Some time after, some of the croisez called the genuineness of the spear in question ; and a dispute arising, Peter Bartholomew, for he was the finder, offered to justify himself by the fiery trial. A large fire was made, and he, holding the spear in his hand, passed through it unhurt, as it was thought. But though he had been in good health before, he died a few days after. Thus the credit of this holy relique remained dubious^o.

A. 1099. The croisez took Jerusalem by storm, and massacred all the infidels that they found there, in number about twenty thousand. Immediately after this inhuman and bloody work, they repaired to the holy sepulchre with most astonishing zeal and devotion^p.

A Discourse on the Ecclesiastical History from the Year 600 to the Year 1100. By Fleury.

‘ THE fair days of the church are passed away : but God hath not rejected his people, nor forgotten his promises.

^m Fleury, xiii. 634.

ⁿ Ibid. 644.

^o Ibid. 664.

^p Ibid. 686.

Let us view with a religious fear the temptations with which he permitted his church to be exercised during the five ages which followed the six first ; and let us consider with gratitude the methods which his Providence made use of to support it. They are subjects worthy of our attention.

‘ Rome Pagan, spotted with so many crimes, and drunk with the blood of so many martyrs, was to be punished, and the divine vengeance was to be manifested upon her in the sight of all nations.—Accordingly, in due time, Rome ceased to be the capital of the empire, when Constantine had transferred the seat of power to Byzantium ; and after the division of the empire, the emperors of the West resided at Ravenna, at Milan, and in any place except Rome. Thus she lost by degrees her splendor, her riches, her numbers. We have seen the deplorable representation of her condition, as made by St. Gregory. Yet was she taken and pillaged by the Barbarians, who ravaged and ruined the western empire. This inundation of Barbarians I count for the first external temptation befalling the church since the persecutions of the Pagan emperors. For these savages, in the beginning of their irruptions, filled all places with slaughter, burned whole cities, massacred the inhabitants, or led them away captives, and spread terror and desolation all around them. The most cruel persecutions under Rome Pagan were neither continual nor universal. The Pagans had the same language with their countrymen the Christians ; they often listened to the doctrines of the Christians, and were daily converted. But where no rational creatures are to be found, there are no churches ; and how was it possible to instruct and convert brutish ruffians, always in arms, always plundering, and speaking a strange language ?

‘ Moreover the Barbarians, who ruined the Roman empire, were either Pagans or Heretics ; so that after their first fury was somewhat allayed, and they were so far humanized as to converse with those whom they had invaded, they still detested the Romans, on account of the diversity of religion. You have seen the cruel persecutions carried on by the Vandals in Afric.

‘ These Barbarians, it is true, became orthodox Christians, some sooner, some later ; in whose conversion God showed forth his mercy, as in the punishment of the Romans he

had signalized his justice. But these Barbarians, by becoming Christians, did not totally quit their former manners. They still remained for the most part fickle, changeable, violent, impetuous, acting more by passion than by reason. You may have observed what sort of Christians were Clovis and his children. These people continued despisers of arts and literature, busied only in hunting or in fighting. Thence ensued gross ignorance even among their Roman subjects; for the manners of the ruling nation will always predominate; and studies languish, unless supported by honours and emoluments.

‘ We see the declension of literature in Gaul, from the end of the sixth century, and about a hundred years after the establishment of the Franks. We have a sensible example of it in Gregory of Tours, who owns that he had not much applied himself to grammar and humanities. And if he had not said it, he shows it sufficiently by his performances. Yet the least of his defects in his writings is that of style. There is in them neither choice nor method. It is a confused jumble of ecclesiastical and secular history; facts of no importance, accompanied with frivolous circumstances unworthy to find a place in serious history, together with an excessive credulity about miracles. These defects I ascribe rather to a bad education than to a bad disposition; else we must suppose that for many ages together there was not a man born who had naturally good sense and sound judgment. But the best dispositions easily follow the prejudices of education and of vulgar opinions, when men have not cultivated the art of reasoning, and copied after good models. Learned studies did not entirely sink with the Roman empire: religion preserved them; but the only students were ecclesiastics, and their studies were extremely imperfect. I speak of human sciences; for as to the doctrines of religion, in those they followed the certain authority of scripture and tradition. Pope Agatho testifies it in a letter which he transmitted by his two legates to the sixth council. We send them not to you, says he, for any reliance that we place in their abilities and erudition. For how should perfect science be found amongst people who live surrounded with Barbarians, and with labour earn their bread by the work of their hands? Only with pious simplicity of heart

we preserve the faith which our ancestors have transmitted to us.

‘ In the following ages, the most enlightened men, as Bede, Alcuin, Hincmar, Gerbert, felt the contagion of the times. Endeavouring to embrace the whole circle of sciences, they mastered none, and knew nothing exactly. What they most wanted was critical skill to distinguish false from genuine tracts. For even then many works were fabricated, and ascribed to illustrious names, not only by Heretics, but by Catholics, and with an honest intention. Thus Vigilius of Thapsus owns himself that he borrowed the name of St. Athanasius, with a view to obtain a hearing from the Arian Vandals. In like manner, when they had not the acts of a martyr to read publicly on his holy day, they composed acts the most probable, or rather the most marvellous that they could devise; and by these means they thought they could best keep up the piety of the common people. These false legends were principally composed on occasions of the translations of reliques, so frequent in the ninth century. They also made deeds and records, either to supply the place of true ones which were lost, or absolutely fictitious; as the famous donation of Constantine, which was received without the least doubt in France, in the ninth century. But of all the spurious pieces, the most pernicious were the Decretals ascribed to the popes of the four first centuries, which have given an incurable wound to ecclesiastical discipline, by the introduction of new maxims concerning the judgments of bishops, and the authority of the pope. Hincmar, though a considerable canonist, could never clear up this point. He knew well that these Decretals were unknown to the preceding ages, and it is he who informs us when they first made their appearance: but he was not critic enough to discern the proofs of the forgery, plain and strong as they were; and he himself cites the Decretals when they favour him.

‘ Another effect of ignorance is to make men credulous and superstitious, for want of certain principles of belief, and an exact knowledge of the duties of religion. God is omnipotent, and his saints have great prevalence with him. These are truths which no Catholic will contest. Therefore I ought to believe all the miracles which are ascribed to the

intercession of saints. This inference is not just. The proofs of these miracles must be examined ; and so much the more accurately as the facts are more incredible and important. For to attest a false miracle is no less than what St. Paul calls bearing false witness against God, as Damianus judiciously remarks. So far therefore is piety from inducing us lightly to give credit to them, that it obligeth us to sift them with the utmost rigour. The same holds true as to revelations, apparitions of spirits, operations of the devil by the ministry of sorcerers, or otherways ; in a word, all supernatural facts. Every sensible and religious person ought to be extremely reserved in giving credit to them.

‘ And for this cause I have mentioned very few out of innumerable miracles related by the writers of these darker ages. It hath appeared to me that amongst them the taste for the marvellous was far more predominant than the love of truth ; and I would not warrant that sometimes there were not at the bottom certain self-interested motives, either to attract profitable oblations from the belief of miraculous cures, or to secure the goods of the church by spreading the fear of divine judgments. To these purposes tend most of the stories related in the Collections of the Miracles of St. Martin, St. Benedict, and other famous saints. As if they who became saints by despising riches upon earth, were become fond of them after they were in heaven, and employed their credit with God to revenge themselves on those who plundered the treasures of their churches ! I can discern the pernicious motive which induced them so zealously to support such pretended miracles. They thought to restrain at least by the fear of temporal judgments those who were little moved by the dread of future punishments. But they did not perceive that this was introducing a dangerous error, by reasoning upon a false principle, that God usually punisheth the wicked in this life. This was to bring the Gospel back to the state of the old law, wherein the promises and threatenings were of the temporal kind : this was, to expose the authority of religion to contempt, by grounding these menaces upon it, since they were often confuted by experience ; and the usurpers of the revenues of the church might be seen every day enjoying impunity, and passing their lives in health and prosperity.

‘ And indeed this was not the doctrine of more enlightened antiquity, and St. Augustin hath solidly proved the contrary, &c.

‘ This doctrine (of the promiscuous and unequal distribution of good and evil in the present state) seems to have been quite forgotten, when the bishops and popes so audaciously employed temporal promises to engage princes to protect them ; as amongst others, pope Stephen did, when he wrote a letter to the French king, in the name of St. Peter. These promises and menaces may for a season impose upon the ignorant ; but when they are plainly seen to be void of effect, as it most usually happens, they are only fit to scandalize men and to weaken their faith, by inducing them to doubt also concerning the promises and threatenings relating to the life to come. Yet this old prejudice and illusion hath continued even in these later ages ; and I can never sufficiently wonder that so knowing a man as Baronius should insist so much upon the evils which have befallen the enemies of the church, especially of the holy see, and represent them constantly as divine judgments ; and, on the other hand, set forth the prosperity of pious princes as sure proofs that they were maintainers of a good cause. And yet the plain truth of history often compels us to have recourse to the mysterious depths of the divine Providence, in the misfortunes which have been the portion of the most zealous Catholics ; and the cardinal doth not discern that a proof which is not always conclusive is never conclusive.

‘ I return to the effects of ignorance and excessive credulity. Under this head we must place an easiness to receive reliques ; the examination of which requires, in due proportion, judiciousness and precaution, as well as of miracles. Certain it is that, in general, the reliques of the saints deserve to be honoured ; and this appears in the practice of the earliest ages of the church, in the most authentic acts of the martyrs, and in the writings of the fathers. Remember, amongst other instances, what St. Augustin says concerning the reliques of St. Stephen, and the miracles wrought by them. But he also testifies that even then, in his time, false reliques were obtruded ; and it is no easy matter always to distinguish false from true ones. Never would there have been any deception in the case, if the wise precaution had always

obtained, not to touch the graves of the saints, but to leave their bodies entire, and deep under ground, as are still at Rome the bodies of the holy apostles. You have seen with what firmness St. Gregory refused to oblige the empress with the head of St. Paul. It was thought sufficient to send, by way of reliques, some pieces of linen or of tapestry which had covered them or their altars.

‘ It was in the East that the practice began of separating and sending about reliques; and this gave occasion to impostures. For, to be satisfied of the genuineness of these remains, it would have been necessary to trace them exactly up to the beginning, and to know through what hands they had passed; which at the first might not be so difficult. But after many ages, it was more easy to impose not only on the common people, but on the bishops also, who were grown less enlightened and less attentive. And after it was established as a rule to consecrate no churches or altars without reliques, the want of them proved a strong temptation not to be over-curious in examining them: and then afterwards the profit gained by attracting offerings and pilgrimages, which enriched the churches and the cities, proved a temptation of the grosser and meaner kind.

‘ I pretend not by these general reflections to raise suspicions of any particular relique. I know that there are many assured ones, as those of the patron saints of the cities in which they died, and which have been honoured ever since; as at Paris, St. Denis, St. Marcel, and St. Geneviève. For though they were removed in the time of the Norman ravages, they were never lost out of sight. For the rest, I leave the examination of them to the prudence of each bishop; and I only add, that this examination should be more rigid, with relation to those which, after having lain concealed for many ages, made their first appearance in ignorant times; or which are pretended to have been brought from very remote regions, and preserved no one can tell how, and by whom. Yet I believe that God, who knoweth the heart, accepts the devotion of those who, having no other intention than to honour him in his saints, revere with a good disposition reliques which for many ages have been held forth to public veneration.

‘ We must then distinguish what is of faith, namely the

utility of the intercession of saints, and of the veneration of reliques, from the abuses which ignorance and human passions have grafted upon it, not only erring in matters of fact, and honouring false reliques for true ones, but laying too great a stress on the true ones, and considering them as infallible instruments to draw down on individuals and on whole cities all kind of benedictions temporal and spiritual. If we had those very saints living and conversing with us, their presence surely could not be more advantageous than the presence of Jesus Christ himself. Now he expressly declares in the Gospel; Ye shall say to the master of the family, We have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets. And he shall say to you, I know you not. The use of reliques is to remind us of the saints, and to think of their virtues; else the presence of the reliques and of the holy places will no more save us than they saved the Jews, who are reproached by the prophet for confiding in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, without amending their manners.

‘Pilgrimages were the consequence of the veneration of holy places and of reliques, especially before the translation of reliques began. They were more easily performed under the Roman emperors, by the constant commerce between the provinces; yet they continued to be extremely frequent under the government of Barbarians, and after the erection of new kingdoms. I am of opinion that the manners of those people contributed to it; for, being occupied only in hunting and fighting, they were ever in motion. And thus pilgrimages became the universal devotion of subjects, kings, clergy, bishops and monks. I will be bold to say that this was a very small appendage to the essentials of religion, when a bishop left his diocese for whole years, to ramble from the extremities of France or England to Rome or Jerusalem; when abbots and monks quitted their retirement; when women, and even nuns, exposed themselves to the perils which attend long voyages. You have seen by the complaints of St. Bonifacius the deplorable consequences; and doubtless there was more to be lost than to be gained by it; and I look upon these indiscreet pilgrimages as on one of the sources of the relaxation of discipline. Indeed they were complained of as such from the beginning of the ninth cen-

ture. But it was the discipline of penance which suffered most by them. Before this, they used to shut up the penitents in deaconries, and other places near the church, to remain there in silence and recollection, remote from occasions of relapsing. You have seen this in the Sacramentary ascribed to Gelasius, and in a letter of Gregory III. But from the eighth century a contrary system was introduced, and notorious sinners were ordered to go into banishment, and lead a vagabond life like Cain. The abuses of this rambling penance soon appeared, and it was forbidden to suffer such frightful fellows as under this pretence used to roam about the world, naked and loaded with irons. Yet it remained a common practice to impose by way of penance some famous pilgrimage; and this gave rise to the croisades.

‘The abuse of the veneration of reliques degenerates into superstition, of which the ignorance of the middle ages produced enormous examples: as that sort of divination called the lots of the saints, of which Gregory of Tours produces so many examples, and that with a solemn seriousness, to induce us to think that he really believed in them. Such were the proofs called the judgment of God by water, by fire, and by single combat, which Agobard vehemently condemned, but which Hincmar justified, and which for a long time continued in vogue. Such was astrology, an object of common belief, especially as to the effects of eclipses and comets. These superstitions at the bottom were remains of Paganism, as were some other, and still more criminal, which stand condemned in the councils of those times. In general, the worst effect of vain studies is a fancy that we know what we know not; and this is still worse than mere ignorance, since it is adding to it error, and often presumption.

‘Hitherto we have only spoken of the West: but the eastern church had also its temptations. The Greek empire, though not totally destroyed, was reduced to very narrow bounds; on the one side by the conquests of the Arabian Mahometans, on the other by those of the Scythians, Bulgarians, and Russians. The two latter received Christianity; and their domination produceth much the same effects as that of other Barbarians in the North. But the Musulmans pretended to convert others, and to justify their conquests by a zeal to establish their own religion all over the earth. It

is true they tolerated the Christians; but they employed all possible means to pervert them, except open persecution; and herein they were more dangerous than the Pagans. Moreover their religion had in it something that was plausible. They preached up the unity of God; they abhorred idolatry; they imitated Christian practices, as prayer at stated hours, a month's fast, and solemn pilgrimages. Their indulgence of a plurality of wives and concubines was an allurement to sensual minds. They employed, amongst other things, an artifice extremely pernicious to Christianity. Syria abounded with Nestorians, and Ægypt with Eutychians, who were, the one and the other, enemies to the patriarch of Constantinople, and to the emperors, whom they accounted their persecutors. The Mahometans made their advantage of this discord, protecting the heretics, and depressing the Catholics, whom they suspected on account of their attachment to the emperors of Constantinople, and who thence had the name of Melchites, that is to say, royalists, in the Arabian language. Hence it is that these old heresies subsist even to this day; and that the eastern Christians have bishops and patriarchs of these different sects, Melchites, Nestorians, and Jacobites or Eutychians.

By these various ways, the Mahometans, without totally extinguishing Christianity, greatly diminished the number of true Christians, and reduced them to gross ignorance by a servitude which deprived them of the heart and the means to prosecute any learned studies. The change of language contributed to the same end. The Arabian, which was the language of the rulers, became that of all the East, and is so still. The Greek was preserved only by the Christian religion, and that only amongst the Melchites: for the Nestorians had their divine service in Syriac, and the Jacobites in Coptic, or the old Ægyptian. And thus, the old sacred and profane books being in Greek, it was necessary either to have them translated, or to learn Greek, which made erudition difficult to be acquired. Hence it came to pass that immediately after the conquests of the Musulmans we lose sight of those antient churches of Ægypt, Palæstine, and Syria, once so flourishing; and that for want of writers I have not been able to trace out their successions, as in the foregoing ages. The History of Eutychius, patriarch of Alex-

andria, is a proof of my assertion. Though a Melchite, he wrote it in Arabic; and it is full of so many fables and inaccuracies, even in the transactions of his own times, that it shows the low ebb of literature amongst the poor Christians. It decreased considerably even amongst the Greeks, whether by their commerce with their barbarous neighbours, or by the government of emperors as ignorant and brutish as were the nations from which they sprang, as Leo Isaurus, and his son Copronymus, and Leo the Armenian. The heresy of the Iconoclasts, which these princes supported with such violence, proceeded from gross ignorance, which caused them to look upon the worship of images as upon idolatry, and to be influenced by the reproaches of the Jews and the Mahometans. They considered not that this worship had been received in the church by an immemorial tradition, and that the church cannot err; which is the grand proof made use of by the fathers of the seventh council.

‘ But the acts of this same council are an evident proof of the declension of literature, by the great number of dubious, not to say fabulous, histories and suspicious records which are cited in them, and which show that the Greeks were no better critics than the Latins; which yet makes nothing to the material part of the question, because they produce authentic evidence of the worship paid to images, and found their decisions upon the infallibility of the church. Another notorious example of the want of critical skill in the Greeks, is that facility with which they swallowed the writings ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite. In the time of Justinian they were rejected; and a hundred years afterwards they were not contested, when produced by the Monothelites, who laid a great stress upon them to establish the *theandric* operation mentioned by that Dionysius.

‘ The persecution carried on by the Iconoclasts had almost extinguished literature in the Greek empire, which revived a little under Basilus Macedo by the industry of the learned Photius, and continued under Leo the philosopher, and his successors. Yet the writers of these times are far inferior to those of antient Greece. Their language is tolerably pure, but the style is affected. They deal in common places, vain declamations, and ostentation of erudition, and useless reflections. The most flagrant example of all these blemishes, and

the most apposite to my purpose, is that of Metaphrastes, who hath spoiled so many lives of the saints, by endeavouring to embellish them, as even his admirer Psellus confesseth.

‘ Amongst the Greeks, at least full as much as amongst the Latins, one sees the love of fable and of superstition, both of them the offspring of ignorance. As to fables, I shall only cite the History of the miraculous Image of Edessa, of which the emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus hath given us so copious a relation. As to superstitions, the Byzantine History furnishes us instances in every page. No emperor ascends the throne, or quits it, without presages and predictions. There is always some recluse in an island, famous for the austerity of his life, who promises the empire to some great officer, and then the new emperor makes him bishop of a considerable see. But these pretended prophets were often mere impostors. I now return to the West.

‘ Another effect of the government of Barbarians was, that the bishops and clergy became hunters and fighters as well as the laity. Yet this change did not arrive very soon; for in the beginning the Barbarians, though they received Christianity, were not admitted into the clerical order. Besides, their ignorance, their ferocity, and their natural levity and restless inconstancy made them unfit to be trusted with the administration of the sacraments, and the care of souls. It was hardly before the seventh century that they entered into orders, at least as far as I can judge from the names of the bishops and ecclesiastics, who till then were usually Romans. And it is only since that time that we find the clergy forbidden by the councils to wear arms, to hunt, and to keep hounds and hawks for their diversion. Now the violent exercise of these sports, the retinue and the expense which they draw after them, agree not well with clerical modesty, study, prayer, attendance on the poor, instructing the people, and a regulated and mortified life.

‘ The exercise of arms is still more remote from it; and yet it became in some measure necessary to the bishops, because of their ecclesiastical possessions: for about that time fiefs were established. Under the two first races of our

French kings, and pretty far in the third, wars were not waged with regular troops enlisted and paid, but by the assistance of those to whom princes and sovereign lords had given lands under these tenures. Every one knew how many men, horses, and arms he was to furnish; and he was to head them, when he was required. Now as churches in those times possessed extensive lands, the bishops were often engaged to serve the state, as well as the other lords. The bishops, I say; for all the ecclesiastical goods of each diocese were still administered in common under their authority; only the goods of monasteries were separate. The portions assigned to each clerk, which we call benefices, were not as yet distinct; and what we now call benefices, were either fiefs, given to laymen, or the *usus-fructus* of some church lands granted to a clerk by way of recompense, or on other accounts, on condition that at his decease it should revert to the common stock.

‘The bishops had their vassals, obliged to do them service on account of the fiefs which they held under them; and when the bishop was summoned by the king, he was himself to march at the head of his troops. Charlemain, finding this right established, consented to remit it, at the request of the people, and excused his prelates from serving in person, provided they sent their vassals. But this regulation was ill observed; and we find, after him, as well as before him, bishops armed, fighting, killed or taken in battle.

‘Independently of war, temporal lordships became to the bishops a continual source of avocations. Lords had a considerable share in state affairs, transacted either in general assemblies, or in the private councils of princes; and bishops, as being men of literature, were more serviceable there than lay lords. They were therefore obliged to be for ever journeying; for neither the court, nor the prince, nor the assemblies or parliaments, had any fixed place. Charlemain, for instance, was sometimes on this side, sometimes on that side of the Rhine, then in Italy, then in Saxony, now at Rome, and a few months after at Aix la Chapelle. He always had in his retinue a great number of bishops, who were followed by their domestics and vassals. What distraction! what loss of time! What leisure to visit

their dioceses, to preach, to study? The parliaments and general assemblies were indeed councils at the same time; but not those sorts of councils, which had been wisely established in each province, for neighbouring bishops to confer together. They were national councils of the whole empire of the Franks, where were to be found together the archbishops of Cologne, Tours, Narbonne, and Milan, and the bishops of Italy, Saxony, and Aquitain. The regulations made by such councils were indeed the more uniform; but the non-residence of the prelates hindered them from being put in execution. These assemblies were designedly parliaments, and occasionally councils, from the opportunity offered by the meeting of so many prelates. The principal objects therefore were temporal, and affairs of state; and the bishops could not avoid taking part in them, being called for that purpose, as other lords. Hence came the mixture of things temporal and spiritual, so pernicious to religion. I have, as occasion served, produced the maxims of the antients concerning the distinction of the two powers, ecclesiastical and secular; amongst the rest, the Letter of Synesius, and the famous words of pope Gelasius, so often insisted upon afterwards. You have seen that these celebrated doctors were persuaded, that although before the coming of Christ these two powers had been sometimes united, Almighty God, knowing human weakness, had since entirely separated them; and that as sovereign princes, though appointed of God, have no share in the priesthood of the new law, so bishops have received from Christ no power in things temporal. In this respect they are entirely subject to their princes; as the princes are equally subject to bishops in things spiritual. These are the maxims of pious antiquity, which we see maintained in the eighth century, in the second letter of Gregory III. to Leo Isaurus. Pope Nicolas I. addressed them again in the following century to the emperor of Constantinople. Before the coming of Christ, says he, there were kings who also were priests, as Melchisedeck. The devil hath imitated this in the person of Pagan emperors, who were sovereign pontiffs. But after the coming of him who is truly both king and high-priest, neither hath the emperor assumed the rights of the pontiff, nor the pontiff the rights

of the emperor. Jesus Christ hath separated these two powers, that Christian emperors might stand in need of the pontiffs for their spiritual concerns, and that the pontiffs might be assisted by the imperial laws for their temporal concerns. Thus spake Nicolas, who can by no means be charged with neglecting the rights of his see.

‘ But after bishops became lords, and had a share in the government of the state, they imagined that as bishops they possessed the rights which they only had as lords. They pretended to judge kings, not only in their penitential tribunals, but in their councils; and the kings, little skilled in their own rights, submitted to this usage; as I have showed in Charles le Chauve, and in Louis d’Outremer. The ceremony of coronation, introduced after the middle of the eighth century, served also for a pretext; and the bishops, by crowning the king, seemed to give him the kingdom, by an authority derived to them from God.

‘ Even before this, I find a notable attempt on the royal dignity, which I account to have been the first. It was the deposing of Vamba, king of the Visigoths, in Spain, in the twelfth council of Toledo, in the year 681, under the pretence that he had been condemned to do penance, and to put on the monastic habit, though without his own knowledge, a distemper having at that time deprived him of his senses. The second famous example is the penance of Louis the Debonaire; after which the bishops, who had imposed it upon him, pretended that it was not lawful for him to resume the royal dignity. St. Ambrose did not draw such consequences from the penitence of Theodosius. Shall we say that this illustrious saint wanted courage to enforce the authority of the church? or that he was less enlightened than the Gothic prelates of the seventh, or the French prelates of the ninth century?

‘ Count Bonifacius, governor of Afric, distressed by the enemies that he had at court, took up arms for his own security, and consulted his friend St. Augustin. This holy doctor gave him salutary advice for the regulation of his morals and for the right exercise of his power: but as to the war that he had undertaken, he plainly declares that he had no counsel to give him on that point, and would not meddle with it. He knew how far his own duty extended,

and would not go a step beyond it. Our French prelates, much bolder than he, declared themselves against Louis the Debonaire, in favour of his children, and excited them to a civil war which ruined the French empire. Specious pretexts were not wanting; Louis was a weak prince, governed by his second wife; and the empire was all in confusion. But they should have foreseen the fatal consequences, and not have presumed to subject a sovereign prince to do penance like a little monk.

‘ The popes, having reason to believe that they had as much of this authority as the bishops, and more, soon undertook to regulate the differences amongst sovereigns, not by way of mediation and intercession, but by authority; which in reality was to dispose of crowns. Thus Adrian II. forbade Charles le Chauve to seize on the kingdom of his nephew Lotharius, and was highly offended when Charles took possession of it notwithstanding his injunctions. But you have seen with what vigour Hincmar answered the reproaches of the pope, telling him, in the name of the French lords, that the kingdoms of this world are acquired by wars and victories, and not by papal and prelatical excommunications: and afterwards; Desire the pope, says he, to consider that he cannot at the same time be a king and a bishop, and that his predecessors governed the church and not the state. And again; It belongs not to a bishop to excommunicate, in order to give or to take away temporal dominions; and the pope shall never persuade us that we cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven, unless by receiving the king whom he thinks fit to give us here upon earth.

‘ Such were the great inconveniencies of this pretended alliance of episcopacy and temporal dominion. In these darker ages it was thought that to be bishop and lord was better than to be only a bishop: but it was not considered how much the lord hurts the bishop, as we still see too plainly in Germany and Poland. In this case the axiom of old Hesiod is a good one, that *Half is better than the whole*. But why should we cite Hesiod, when we have the authority of Christ himself, who teaches us that virtue all alone is more excellent than virtue with riches?

‘ In this confused state of the two powers, the seculars made encroachments also on their side. Often the lords,

without the concurrence of the bishops, appointed priests to the churches situated in their territories ; and our kings of the first race pretended to dispose of bishoprics, although, at the same time, in the councils held with their permission the liberty of elections was always recommended, and the show of it always observed. The learned Florus, deacon of the church of Lyons, remarks very justly, that under the Christian emperors of Rome, neither the emperors nor the magistrates usually meddled with the election of bishops, or the ordination of priests. For the bishops then had no temporal power, as they never had at any time in the Greek empire. But in the kingdoms formed out of the dissolution of the western empire, the bishops were so powerful that it was the interest of sovereigns to be secure of them ; and therefore, even in the most canonical elections, the consent of the prince was necessary. In this matter we must not pretend to establish rights upon facts often irregular, but upon canons, laws, and authentic acts.

‘ What we have said of bishops is proportionably to be understood of abbots. Though they were monks, they became lords, on account of the lands belonging to their monasteries ; they had vassals, and forces which they led out to war ; they were often at court, and were summoned to councils of princes and to parliaments. We may judge, from this dissipated life, how difficult it was for them to observe the rules of their order ; and not only for them but for their monks, some of whom they always had in their retinue. What a relaxation of discipline must have been caused by their absence, and what distractions, at their return, in their monasteries ! These lords-abbots, wanting large revenues to defray their voyages, and their other expenses, made use of their credit at court to obtain many abbeys, and held them all without scruple.

‘ The abuse went still further. Monasteries were given to bishops and to clerks, although, not being monks, they were incapable of being abbots : for commendams were not introduced till the later ages. Then kings proceeded to give abbeys to mere laics, or to take them for themselves ; and this abuse was common from the eighth to the tenth century. The lords, without any other formality than the permission of the prince, went and lodged in monasteries, with wives,

children, vassals, domestics, hounds and horses, devouring the most part of the revenues, and leaving a small pittance to a few monks, who were permitted to dwell there, for fashion's sake, and who became more and more relaxed in their behaviour.

'The same abuse reigned in the East; but the origin of it was more canonical. The Iconoclasts, sworn foes to the monastic profession, had ruined the greatest part of the monasteries. To re-establish them, the emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople appointed the bishops or the powerful laymen to take care of them, to preserve the revenues, to recover the alienated lands, to repair the decayed buildings, and to recall the scattered monks. These administrators were called *charisticarii*: but from charitable protectors they soon became selfish tyrants, who treated the monks like slaves, seized upon almost all the revenues for themselves, and transferred or sold to others the rights which they unjustly claimed in the monasteries.

'Such are the effects of the wealth of churches and of religious houses. In all times it hath been a temptation to excite the ambition of the clergy and the avarice of the laity, especially when the former do not by their behaviour attract the love and respect of the public, when they appear to be rather a burden than a blessing to the people, and when they apply their revenues to no good purposes. Needful it is that there should be funds for the support of Christian societies as of other societies, for the subsistence of the clergy occupied in serving them, for the construction and reparation of the buildings, for the purchase of proper ornaments, and, above all, for the relief of the poor. In the earliest ages, and under Pagan emperors, the church possessed immoveables, besides the voluntary contributions which were her first fund. But it had been well if the bishops had always accounted temporal possessions as a mere incumbrance, as did St. Chrysostom; and had been as reserved in acquiring new ones as was St. Augustin.

'Our bishops of the ninth century were not so disinterested, as we learn from the complaints made against them in the time of Charlemain; that they persuaded silly people to renounce the world, that the church might get their estates, to the prejudice of their lawful heirs. Even without em-

playing wicked means, I find some bishops, allowed to be holy men, who were too sedulous, in my opinion, about augmenting the revenues. The Life of St. Meinverc of Paderborn, under the emperor St. Henry, is chiefly filled with an enumeration of the lands which he acquired for his church.

‘ The treasures of the churches, I mean plate, shrines, and other precious ornaments, were so many baits which attracted the infidels to pillage, as the Normans in France, and the Saracens in Italy ; the lands and seignories excited the cupidity of wicked Christians either to seize upon them by open force, after the sinking of the royal authority, or to usurp them under the pretence of serving the church. Hence also came intrigues and simoniacal contracts, as the only vocation to ecclesiastical dignities. But here let us not be scandalized at the enormities practised during the tenth century, particularly at Rome. The Son of God, when he promised to assist his church to the end of the world, did not promise to exclude wicked members from it. On the contrary, he foretold that there should be always a mixture of such persons till the final separation. He hath not promised holiness to all the ministers and pastors of his church, not even to the head : he hath only promised supernatural powers to all those who should enter into the holy ministry according to the forms which himself hath prescribed. Thus as in all times bad men have been found, who without a sincere conversion, and other necessary dispositions, have received baptism and the eucharist ; there have been also, who without a call, having received ordination and imposition of hands, became priests and bishops, though to their own destruction, and often to that of their flock. In a word, God hath not engaged to put a stop in a miraculous way to sacrilege, any more than to other crimes. Therefore we must not scruple to acknowledge as lawful popes a Sergius III., or a John X., or others whose scandalous life was a disgrace to the holy see, if they were ordained, according to form, by bishops. But it must be owned that it would have been more advantageous to the church to have been always in a state of poverty than to have been exposed to such scandals.

‘ These enormities were also partly owing to ignorance, when it had taken deep root. After the sinking of literature, good manners and the practice of Christian virtues subsisted

still for a time, by the influence of example and education. So they lived at Rome, under pope Agatho, towards the conclusion of the seventh century. But ignorance daily increasing, a neglect ensued of those religious practices, the grounds and reasons of which were no longer known, and corruption came to that height in which you have seen it towards the end of the ninth century, after Nicolas I. and Adrian II; insomuch that, to raise up again the Roman church, it was needful, in the middle of the eleventh century, to call in from Germany men of more erudition, as Gregory X. and Leo IX. Ignorance most assuredly is good for nothing; and I know not what is meant by a pretended simplicity tending to promote good morals. This I know, that in the darkest times, and amongst the most ignorant nations, we find the most abominable vices triumphant. I have given some proofs of this on proper occasions. I did not think it right to produce them all, and I dare not specify them more precisely. There is a root of concupiscence in all men, which brings forth its wretched effects, unless it be checked by reason assisted with grace.

‘ There is a kind of crime, of which in these ages we find examples only in the East; namely, impiety, or an open contempt of all religion. You have seen, and doubtless with horror, the sacrilegious sports of the young emperor Michael, son of Theodora, who went about the streets of Constantinople with his comrades in debauchery, clothed in religious habits, mimicking the processions and other ceremonies of the church, and even the holy eucharist. Photius the patriarch saw all this and bare with it, for which he was reproached in the eighth council; which shows that he was even more profane than the emperor. For this prince was a young mad fool, often drunk, and always a slave to his passions: but Photius acted calmly, and with deep consideration, was the greatest genius, and the most learned man of the age. He was a complete hypocrite, talking like a saint, and acting like a knave. He seems to have been the author of another sort of impiety, of having carried flattery to such an excess as even to canonize princes who had done nothing to deserve it, to dedicate churches, and to appoint festival-days to their honour; as he did to Constantine, eldest son of Basilus Macedo, to

comfort that emperor for the loss of his child : thus imitating the authors of Pagan idolatry. Constantius Monomachus wanted to do as much for Zoë, to whom he owed the empire.

‘ The three vices which, in those unhappy times, did the most mischief in the western world, were the incontinence of the clergy, the pillages and violences of the laity, and the simony of both : all three the genuine effects of ignorance. The clerks had forgotten the dignity of their profession, and the weighty reasons for this discipline of continence. They knew not that from the beginning of Christianity this angelic virtue was its glory, and was held forth to the Pagans as one of the most striking proofs of its excellence. As then the church always had a great number of persons of both sexes who consecrated themselves to God by a perfect continence, nothing was more reasonable than to choose its principal ministers out of this purer part of the flock. The church was therefore the better served by men who, disengaged from domestic and family cares, were not divided between different objects, and only thought, as St. Paul says, to please God ; applying themselves entirely to pray, to study, to instruct, and to perform works of charity. Accordingly, you have seen that this holy discipline of the superior clerks was always observed in the church, though with more or less exactness, according to times and places.

‘ But our ignorant ecclesiastics of the ninth and tenth centuries accounted this law to be an insupportable yoke. Their functions were almost reduced to singing psalms which they understood not, and to practising external ceremonies. Living in other respects like other people, they easily persuaded themselves that like them also they ought to have wives ; and the multitude of bad examples induced them to look upon celibacy as impossible, and consequently upon the law that imposed it as an insupportable tyranny. The Greeks were the first, who, at the end of the seventh century, shook off this salutary yoke, by a canon of the council in Trullo, which permitted the priests to retain their wives ; and, by way of pretext, they pleaded a canon of Carthage wrongly understood, and the scandals which were now too frequent amongst the Latins. But the first formal

example in the West, is that of the curate in the diocese of Chaalons, who married publicly, and at whom all good men were offended, as they would be this day. Such was the horror at this innovation.

‘ The pillages and outrages were reliques of the barbarity of the northern nations. I have showed their origin in the weak government of Louis the Debonaire, and their progress under his successors. Strange it is that Christians should have been ignorant, to such a degree, of the very elements of religion and policy, as to think it lawful to right themselves, and to take up arms against their own countrymen, just as against foreigners. The foundation of civil society is to give up private revenge, to submit to the laws, and to judges as the executors of the laws; and the very essence of Christianity is charity, which obligeth not only to do no harm to our neighbour, but to do him all the good that we can. What sort of Christians then were these! Christians ever ready to revenge themselves upon their brethren by murders and devastations, and whose justice lay in the point of their sword!

‘ You have seen the useless complaints and remonstrances against these flagrant disorders, which were made in the assemblies of bishops and lords: and these were another proof of the ignorance of the times; for a man must have been simple indeed, to imagine that exhortations, enforced by citations of Scripture and of the Fathers, could wrest the sword out of the hands of ruffians accustomed to blood and plunder. The remedy should have been to establish a new set of laws, like those of the antient Greeks and Romans, and other polished and disciplined nations. But where could legislators be found at that time wise enough to draw up such institutions, and eloquent enough to persuade the observance of them? In the mean time the discipline of the church was expiring, and its morals corrupted more and more. The nobles, posted each in his own castle, came no more to the churches to receive the instruction of the bishops. They assisted at the service performed in some neighbouring monastery, or had it performed by their own chaplains, or by the curates of their vassals; and even these ecclesiastics they put in and put out, as they thought fit. Often they appro-

appropriated to themselves the tithes and revenues of the churches. The bishops could not correct those priests, protected by their lords, much less the lords themselves, nor visit their dioceses, nor assemble together to hold councils; and sometimes they were under a necessity to take arms, and to defend the church lands against the nobles.

‘I account simony also as the result of ignorance. A man enlightened, and persuaded of the truth of the Christian religion, will never think to use it as a trade to get money. He will know that it is of a sublimer nature, and that it proposeth blessings of a different kind. Simon himself offered money to St. Peter, because he knew nothing concerning the heavenly doctrines, and only wanted to receive a power of communicating miraculous gifts to others, that he might thereby obtain respect and riches. The more sensual and ignorant men are, the more they are affected with things temporal, and disposed to account them the chief good. Things spiritual and invisible seem to such persons mere fictions; they deride them, and think nothing to be solid which they cannot grasp with their hands. Accordingly, I see no age when simony reigned in so barefaced a manner as in the tenth and the eleventh century. The princes, who for a long time had made themselves masters of elections, sold bishoprics and abbeys to the best bidders; and the bishops reimbursed themselves by degrees of what they had expended in the lump, ordaining priests for money, and requiring fees for consecrating churches, and for other functions of their ministry. See the discourse of Sylvester II. to the prelates on this subject. To men who have no religious feelings it seems an extraordinary exploit, a kind of creating power, a turning of nothing into something, to amass riches by only speaking a few words, and performing a few ceremonies. They think themselves much more subtle than they who do such things *gratis*.

‘Now simony hath been in all times the bane of Christian discipline and of Christian morals; for the first step towards piety and virtue is the contempt of riches, and a renunciation, at least in the disposition of the heart, even to the goods which we possess. But who shall teach this sublime morality, when they who ought to be the instructors of others feel and know nothing at all of it; when the salt of the earth is itself

corrupted? Who, on the contrary, doth not make haste to be rich, when he sees plainly that neither learning nor virtue raises men to the higher stations of the church, but only money and favour? Thus, by an unhappy circulation, ignorance and corruption of heart produce simony, and simony nourisheth ignorance, and a contempt of virtue.

‘ It was also these three disorders, simony, the lawless violence of the nobles, and the incontinence of the clergy, which the holy men of the eleventh century principally attacked with the most zeal. But an ignorance of the antient discipline caused a mistake in the application of the remedies. They were of two sorts; penances for the obedient, and censures for the refractory. The canonical penances were still in vigour at the end of the eleventh century: I have produced examples of this; and Christians were so far from complaining of their severity, that complaints were made of certain new unauthorized canons which had considerably weakened them. But it was imagined, I know not on what grounds, that each repeated sin of the same kind required its own penance; and that if a murder, for example, were to be expiated by a penance of ten years, ten murders required a penance of a hundred years; which made the penances impossible, and the canons ridiculous. The antient Christians did not understand the thing in that manner. I believe indeed that a repetition of sins of the same kind added to the rigour of the penance, which yet was always submitted to the discretion of the bishops. But, after all, it was measured in proportion to human life, and a penance till death was only required for the most enormous crimes.

‘ When penances by being multiplied were made impracticable, they were obliged to have recourse to compensations or commutations, as we find in the Decree of Burchard, and in the Works of Petrus Damianus. These were psalms repeated, genuflections, scourging, almsgiving, pilgrimages, all of them actions which may be performed without a conversion of mind. He therefore who by repeating of psalms, or scourging himself, redeemed in a few days the penance of many years, did not receive the benefit which a proper penance would have produced, namely, sentiments of compunction excited and fortified by long and frequent reflections, and the extirpation of evil habits by keeping for a long time

out of the way of temptations, and by practising for as long a time the contrary virtues. Genuflections and vocal prayers would not produce this change, and much less penances performed by another person; and the discipline which some religious monk endured in behalf of a sinner was not a healing penance to the sinner. For sin is not like a pecuniary debt which another may pay for the debtor in the same species of money, or in an equivalent, and so get him discharged: it is a personal disease, of which the man himself must be cured; and accordingly, an English national council^a condemned these penances performed by proxy, and gave this remarkable reason, that by such methods the rich might be saved more easily than the poor, contrary to the express words of the Gospel.

‘ Forced penances were another abuse. I find such in Spain, even in the seventh century. Afterwards the bishops meeting with many offenders who would not submit to penance, complained of them in parliaments, and requested the princes to compel them by the secular arm. This was a gross ignorance of the nature of repentance, which consists in pious sorrow and conversion of heart. This was changing the state of a sinner, who, to prevent the effects of divine justice, voluntarily condemns and afflicts himself, into the state of a malefactor, whom human justice punisheth against his inclination.

‘ Amongst the forced penances I account the prohibitions of eating flesh, wearing linen, going on horseback, and the like, imposed by the bishops upon unrepenting offenders. If these sinners complied with such commands, I marvel at their docility: if they did not comply, I marvel at the simplicity of the prelates.

‘ The other remedy for the disorderly practices of the tenth century was excommunication and ecclesiastical censures. The remedy was good in itself, but, by ill management and misapplication, it became unprofitable. Censures are punishments to those only who stand in awe of them: for to what purpose were it to forbid a Jew or a Mahometan to come to church, and to receive the sacraments? When therefore a Christian is wicked enough to despise the cen-

^a A. 747.

suress, and powerful enough to despise them with impunity, they serve rather to irritate than to amend him; being founded on faith and reverence for the authority of the church. It is not so of temporal punishments: every man naturally dreading the loss of goods, of liberty, and of life.

‘ It is on these principles that the antients had so wisely regulated the use of spiritual corrections. Never was the discipline so strict as in the times of distress and persecution. As they who then received Christianity entered into the church sincerely, and after a long trial, they were tractable and teachable, and submissive to their superiors. If any of them would not be obedient, he was at full liberty to depart, and return to Paganism, without being restrained from apostasy by worldly motives; and the church got rid of him. But even in those times they avoided by all means, as far as it was possible, to come to such extremities; and the church tolerated even bad pastors, rather than to run the risk of breaking the bond of unity.

‘ But, when Christians were become more numerous, the church grew still more reserved in exerting all her authority; and St. Augustin informs us, not as a new discipline, but as the old tradition, that she tolerated the sins of the multitude, and employed her corrections only against individuals. When a bad person finds himself as it were alone, amongst a great number of those who are obedient and regular, it is probable that he will submit, or that all will rise up against him: but, says he, when the sinner is powerful enough to draw the many after him, or when it is the multitude that is guilty, nothing remains but to mourn before God, and to use general exhortations, seizing on the occasions when the people are best disposed to humiliation, as in public calamities.

‘ Following these wise maxims, pope Julius undertook the defence of St. Athanasius, who was persecuted, and wrote letters in his favour; and pope Innocent did the same in behalf of St. Chrysostom: but they took care to refrain from either deposing or excommunicating the bishops who had unjustly condemned these holy prelates, well knowing that they would not have been obeyed, and would only have exposed their own authority to contempt. Much

more did they think it necessary to abstain from excommunicating emperors, though heretics and persecutors of the church: such as Constantius and Valens. On the contrary, St. Basil received at the altar the oblations of the latter. For it was clearly discerned that a different conduct would have only irritated them more. It is true that St. Ambrose forbade Theodosius to come into the church, because he well knew the pious dispositions of that prince, and judged that by such rigour he should bring him to a salutary repentance.

‘But I cannot conceive what pope Nicolas I. could pretend to obtain by the haughty and harsh letters which he wrote to the emperor Michael, the protector of Photius; and, above all, by his threats, that he would publicly burn the emperor’s letter at Rome. Did he not know that Michael was a frantic impious youth? To what purpose were his censures denounced against Photius, of whose audaciousness and power he could not be ignorant? Even at that time, towards the middle of the ninth century, they had forgotten the discretion and caution of wiser antiquity; as if they had nothing to do but to bluster and talk big, without regarding the consequences. The ordinary forms of excommunication being enfeebled and worn out as it were by too frequent use, new ones were added to make the thing more terrible; and they employed the names of Korah, Dathan, Abiram, and Judas Iscariot, with all the maledictions in the hundred-and-ninth Psalm, accompanied with the putting out of candles, and the ringing of bells. Methinks I see a feeble old man, who, finding himself despised by his children, and not able to get out of his bed to chastize them as formerly, flings at them every thing that he finds under his hand to satisfy his impotent anger; and, raising his voice, loads them with all the imprecations that he can devise. But in the tenth and eleventh centuries they departed more and more from the moderation of earlier times. The bishops considered not the effects of their censures, but only their own power, and the utmost rigour of their rights; as if by a fatal necessity they had been obliged to pronounce canonical pains and penalties against all those who had deserved them. They saw not that such spiritual thunder-claps affect not those who fear them not; that this, instead

of correcting, only hardens them, and provokes them to commit new crimes ; that censures, instead of being profitable, become pernicious to the church, drawing on the greatest of all evils, which is schism, and depriving her of her spiritual weapons by thus lavishing them away ; in a word, that to cut off all sinners from the church, is to act like a prince, who, finding most of his subjects to be guilty, should put them all to the sword, and run the risk of depopulating his own dominions. We see too plainly in the ensuing times the effects of this behaviour.

‘ The popes, it must be confessed, followed the prejudices of their own times ; and carried further than others the exercise of censures, because of the authority of their see, great in itself, and extended beyond its antient bounds by the false decretals. The most eminent popes, and the most zealous to re-establish the discipline of the church and the honour of the holy see, after the disorders of the tenth century, departed more and more from the antient moderation, of which they were ignorant, or which they judged not suitable to their own times ; and at last Gregory VII. augmented the rigour of censures beyond any thing that had been practised before. This pope, naturally bold and daring, and bred up in a strict monastic discipline, had an ardent zeal to purge the church of all the vices with which he saw it infected, particularly of the simony and incontinence of the clergy. But in an age of darkness he had not all the knowledge that was requisite to regulate his zeal ; and taking false appearances for solid truths, he without hesitation deduced from them the most dangerous consequences. His grand principle was, that a superior is obliged to punish all the crimes that come to his cognizance, under the penalty of being himself an accomplice by his forbearance ; and in his letters he is ever repeating the words of the prophet, Cursed is he who doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully ; and cursed is he who keepeth back his sword from blood ; that is, who doth not execute the commands of God in punishing God’s enemies. On this foundation, when a bishop was accused to him as guilty of simony, or of some other crime, he immediately cited him to Rome. If he failed of appearing, for the first time he suspended him ; if for a second time, he excommunicated him ; if

he persisted contumacious, he deposed him, forbad his clergy and his flock to obey him under pain of excommunication, commanded them to choose another ; and, if they failed to do it, appointed another himself. Thus he proceeded against Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who paid him in kind, and caused himself to be elected pope by king Henry. I am terrified when I see in the Letters of Gregory censures poured out so profusely all around him, and such a multitude of bishops deposed every where, in Lombardy, in Germany, in France.

‘ The worst of all was, that he would needs enforce his spiritual with temporal punishments, which were no part of his office. Others had tried this, and I have observed to you how the bishops had implored the aid of the secular arm to compel sinners to penance ; and how the popes, above two hundred years before, had begun their attempts to regulate by their own authority the rights of crowns. Gregory VII. followed those new maxims, and pushed them much further, openly pretending that as pope he had a right to depose all sovereigns who rebelled against the church. These pretensions he grounded principally upon the power of excommunicating. Excommunicated persons are to be shunned, no commerce is to be held with them, and it is not lawful to speak to them, or even to bid them, God speed ! as says the apostle. Therefore an excommunicated prince is to be abandoned by all the world, none must obey him, receive his orders, or even approach him. He stands excluded from all society with all Christians. It is true that Gregory never made any decision upon this point : the providence of God did not permit it. He never pronounced in form, in any council, or by any decretal, that the pope hath authority to depose kings. But he took it for granted, as he did many other maxims equally groundless, and began by acts and deeds.

‘ Acknowledged it must be, that these maxims being generally received, the defenders of Henry took refuge in affirming that a sovereign prince could not lawfully be excommunicated. But it was easy for Gregory to show that the powers of binding and loosing were given to the apostles in general terms, without exception of persons, and therefore comprehended kings as well as other Christians. The

mischief was, that he carried his inferences beyond all bounds, contending that the church, having a right to judge of things spiritual, had certainly still more right to judge of things temporal; that the smallest exorcist was superior to an emperor, since he exercised authority even over evil spirits; that regal dominion was the work of the devil, founded upon human pride, but that priesthood is the work of God; lastly, that the lowest virtuous Christian is more truly a king than any wicked monarch, because such a prince is not a king but a tyrant; a maxim advanced by Nicolas I., and borrowed, it should seem, from the apocryphal book of the Apostolical Constitutions, where it is found in express words. A tolerable sense might be put upon it, if it were taken for a hyperbolical expression; as when we say of a very wicked man, that he is not a man. But hyperboles are not to be reduced to practice. Yet upon such grounds as these Gregory pretended that, according to the rules of order, it belonged to the church to distribute sceptres, and to sit in judgment upon princes; and, in particular, that all Christian kings were vassals to the church of Rome, and obliged to take an oath of allegiance to her, and to pay her tribute. Such were his proofs to support his pretensions over the empire, and almost over all the kingdoms of Europe.

Now let us view the consequences of these principles. A prince is found who is unworthy of his station, and charged with several crimes, as Henry IV. king of Germany; for I pretend not to justify him. He is cited to Rome to give an account of his conduct. He appears not. After many citations the pope excommunicates him. He despises the censure. The pope pronounces him fallen from his royal state, absolves his subjects from their oath of allegiance, forbids them to obey him, permits, or rather commands them to choose another king. What ensues? Seditions and civil wars in the state, and schisms in the church. This deposed king shall not be so far deserted as not to have a party, an army, and fortified places. He shall wage war with his competitor for the empire, as Henry did with Rodolphus. Each king shall have bishops on his side; and the prelates who oppose the measures of the pope shall not want pretences to accuse him, as unworthy of

his see. They shall depose him, be it right or wrong, and elect an antipope, as Guibert, whom the king his patron shall place in the chair by force of arms.

‘ Let us go further : A deposed king is no longer a king : if he presume to act as such, he is a tyrant, that is, a public enemy, against whom every hand ought to be lifted up. Let there be found a fanatic, who, having read in Plutarch the Life of Timoleon, or of Brutus, accounts it a most glorious exploit to be the deliverer of his country ; or who, wresting the examples recorded in Scripture, thinks himself raised up like Ehud, or like Judith, to set at liberty the people of God ; here is the life of this pretended tyrant exposed to the caprice of a frantic visionary, who shall think that he performs an heroic action, and gains the crown of martyrdom. Alas ! there are too many such examples in the history of these later ages ; and God hath permitted these dreadful consequences of extravagant opinions concerning excommunication, to undeceive us, at last, by woful experience.

‘ Return we then to the maxims of wiser antiquity. A sovereign may be excommunicated, as well as a private person. Be it granted : yet prudence will hardly ever permit this right to be executed. Suppose the possibility of such a case : the power would belong to other bishops as much as to the pope, and the effects would be only of the spiritual kind, that is to say, it would be no longer permitted to the excommunicated prince to participate of the sacraments, or to join with Christians in the public worship of God, or for them to exercise such religious acts along with him. But his subjects would not be the less obliged to obey him in all things not contrary to the law of God. Never was it pretended, at least not in the more enlightened ages of Christianity, that even a private person, by being excommunicated, lost his right to his own goods, chattels, and servants, or his paternal authority over his children. Jesus Christ, when he established his Gospel, did nothing by violence, but all by persuasion, as St. Augustin observes. He said that his kingdom was not of this world ; and he would not even act as an arbitrator between two brethren. He commanded to give to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar’s, although this Cæsar was Tiberius, not only a Pagan, but

one of the vilest of mankind. In a word, he came to reform the world by converting men's hearts, without changing the course of human establishments. His apostles and their successors followed the same plan, and always preached to subjects an obedience to magistrates and princes ; and to slaves a submission to their own masters, good or bad, believers or infidels. It was not till a thousand years afterwards, as you have seen, that Christians took it into their heads to form a new system, to turn the head of the church into a sovereign monarch, superior to all sovereigns even in things temporal. For if he hath a power to raise them up and to pull them down, in any one case whatsoever, and in any manner and method, direct or indirect, he is, to say the plain truth, the only real sovereign upon earth ; and the church for a thousand years together knew not, or exerted not her own rights.

Gregory VII. suffered himself also to be led away by a prejudice already adopted, that God must show forth his justice in this world. Hence it is that in his Letters he promises to those who will be faithful to St. Peter temporal prosperity, besides eternal life, and menaces the rebellious with the loss both of the former and the latter. Insomuch that in his second sentence of excommunication against king Henry, addressing himself to St. Peter, he prays him to take away from that prince prosperity in war, and victory over his enemies ; that all the world may know, says he, that thou hast all power both in heaven and on earth. Doubtless he imagined that God, who knew the goodness of his cause, and the uprightness of his intention, would answer his prayer. But God doth not work miracles according to the fancies of vain men, and seemed to have purposely confounded the rashness of this prophecy. For a few months after a bloody battle was fought, in which king Rodolphus was slain, though the pope had promised him success, and king Henry, cursed as he was, came off victorious. Thus Gregory's maxim was turned against him ; and, if we be to judge by events, there was reason to suppose that his behaviour was not agreeable in the sight of God. Far from correcting Henry, he only gives him occasion to commit new crimes ; he excites cruel wars, which set all Germany and Italy at variance ; he causes a schism in the church, he is besieged himself in

Rome, and obliged to flee, and to go and die an exile at Salernum.

‘ Might one not have said to him, If you be the sovereign disposer of temporal prosperity, why do you not take a share of it yourself? If you be not, why do you promise it to others? Choose which person you will act, the apostle, or the conqueror. The first hath no grandeur and power, except that which is inward and spiritual; externally he is all weakness and sufferings: the second must have at command the instruments of this world, kingdoms, armies, and treasures to support them. You cannot make an alliance between two states so opposite; nor reap any honour from the afflictions which your own ill-concerted enterprises bring upon you.

‘ Hitherto I have principally considered the relaxation of the antient discipline, and other temptations with which God permitted his church to be assaulted from the sixth to the twelfth century. Now let us see the means by which he preserved it, to accomplish his promise, that he would be always with it, and never suffer it to sink under the powers of hell.

‘ The succession of bishops hath continued without interruption in most of the Christian churches from the first establishment. We have the series of bishops in each see, in the collections entitled *Gallia Christiana*, *Italia Sacra*, and the like. Many churches have their own particular histories, in other authentic acts and monuments. This is a proof of the traditionary kind: for in all the places where we find a bishop, it is certain that there was a church, a clergy, the exercise of the Christian religion, a Christian school; and we have a right to suppose that the same doctrine was taught there as in other Catholic churches, as long as we find this church holding communion with them. The unworthiness of their pastors did not interrupt this tradition. Let the bishop have been simoniacal, covetous, ignorant, and debauched; so long as he was neither heretic nor schismatic, the faith and the rules of discipline would still be preserved in his church, although his own bad example might be hurtful to particular persons.

‘ This hath been principally the case at Rome. God permitted that during the tenth century the primary see

should be filled with the most unworthy occupants, either through the infamy of their birth, or their personal vices ; but he did not permit any error against sound doctrine to slide in, or the indignity of the persons to hurt the authority of that see. Those times, wretched as they were in other respects, had no schism ; and those popes, so contemptible in themselves, were acknowledged as heads of the universal church in the East, as well as in the West, and in the remotest provinces of the North. The archbishops requested the pall from them, and addresses were made to them, as to their predecessors, for the translations of bishops, the erection of new churches, and the grants of privileges. Under these unworthy popes Rome ceased not to be the centre of Catholic unity.

‘ During the five centuries which we are surveying, councils were continued to be held, and even general ones, as the sixth, seventh, and eighth. True it is that provincial councils were not so frequent as in the first six ages, principally in the West, where the constitution of the state temporal did not favour them, both on account of the incursions of Barbarians, and the civil wars, and the more private wars amongst the nobles. But still it was never forgotten that they ought to be held ; and the ordinance of the Nicene council was often cited, that they should be called together twice every year. Of this the popes took care to set an example, and ordinarily had one in Lent, and another in November, as we see under Leo IX., Alexander II., and Gregory VII. ; the last of whom, jealous as he was of his own authority, yet never acted without the concurrence of a council.

‘ I have marked out the inconveniences of the national councils, whether in Spain under Gothic kings, or of France under the second race of their kings ; but yet councils they were. The bishops met together, discoursed together concerning their duty, consulted and instructed one another. Ecclesiastical affairs were there discussed, and judgment pronounced even upon bishops. The Scriptures and the Canons were the regulators of these judgments, and they were consulted before they opined upon each article. Of this you have seen numberless instances.

‘ Although the learned were scarce, and studies imperfect, this advantage they had, that the objects of those inquiries

were good. They studied the doctrines of religion in the Scriptures, and in the Fathers, and its discipline in the Canons. There was little curiosity and invention, but a high esteem of the antients. To study them, to copy them, to compile them, to abridge them, this was their main view; this is what we find in the writings of Bede, Rabanus, and other divines of the middle ages: they are only compilations out of the fathers of the six first centuries: and this was the surest method to preserve tradition.

‘The manner of teaching also resembled that of the first times. The schools were in the cathedrals or in the monasteries. It was the bishop himself who was the teacher, or under his orders some clerk, or some monk distinguished by his learning; and the disciples, whilst they were acquiring ecclesiastical science, were trained up under the eyes of the bishop to good morals, and to the functions of their ministry. The principal schools were usually in the metropolis; yet it oftentimes happened that there were more able masters in some particular churches, and then it was allowed to students to be admitted under them. Now I look upon it as a matter of importance towards the proof of tradition, to point out how studies have passed successively from one country to another, and which have been from time to time the most celebrated schools of the West. Till the time of St. Gregory I find none more illustrious than that of Rome. But it sunk from that very age, as the sincere acknowledgment of pope Agatho testifies. Yet St. Austin the monk, and others whom St. Gregory had sent to plant the faith in England, formed a school there, which preserved literature whilst it was declining in all the other parts of Europe; in Italy by the ravages of the Lombards, in Spain by the invasion of the Saracens, in France by the civil wars. From this English school came forth St. Bonifacius, the apostle of Germany, founder of the school of Mentz, and of the abbey of Fulda, which was a seminary for that church. England afterwards gave to France the learned Alcuin, who in his school at Tours formed those excellent disciples whose names, works, and successors I have given in this History. Thence came the school in the palace of Charlemain, very famous still under Charles Le Chauve; those of St. Germain of Paris; of St. Germain of Auxerre, and of Corbie; that of Reims un-

der Hincmar and his successors ; that of Lyons at the same time. The Normans afterwards desolated all the maritime provinces of France, and letters were then preserved in the remoter churches and monasteries towards the Meuse, the Rhine, the Danube, and beyond, in Saxony and in the furthest parts of Germany, where studies flourished under the Othos. In France the school at Reims was still kept up, as we see by Flodoard and Gerbert ; and I hope one day to show the continuance of it till the beginning of the university of Paris.

‘ Most of the schools were in monasteries, and even the cathedrals were served by monks in certain countries, as in England and in Germany. The canons, whose institution began in the middle of the eighth century by the rule of St. Chrodegang, led almost a monastic life, and their houses were also called monasteries. Now I account monasteries to have been one of the principal means of which Providence made use to preserve religion alive in those miserable times. They were sanctuaries for learning and piety, whilst an inundation of ignorance, vice, and barbarism overspread the face of the earth. The antient tradition was there preserved both for the celebration of divine service, and for the practice of Christian virtues, of which the younger might behold living examples in the elder. The writings of many ages were there repositied and transcribed, for that was the occupation of the monks ; and we should have had few books preserved, had it not been for the libraries of the monasteries.

‘ The sensible reader cannot be too much upon his guard against the prejudices of the Protestants and of some libertine Catholics with relation to the monastic profession. With these people the very name of monk is thought a sufficient cause to depress the man who bears it, and to account him void of all good qualities. In like manner amongst the antient Pagans the bare name of Christian stripped the man of all his virtues. Such an one, said they, is an honest man ; it is pity that he is a Christian. We form to ourselves a general notion of a monk, as of a man ignorant, credulous, superstitious, self-interested and hypocritical ; and upon this false idea we pass a rash judgment on the greatest men, we disdain to read their lives and their books, and we give a malicious turn to their most commendable actions. St. Gregory

was an illustrious pope ; but he was a monk. They whom he first sent to England to preach the faith to that nation were apostolical men ; but, alas ! they were monks. You have seen in this History their conduct and their doctrine : judge for yourselves what opinion you ought to have of them. Remember what hath been set before you concerning St. Antony and the monks of Ægypt. Remember that St. Basil and St. Chrysostom recommended and practised the monastic life, and think whether they were weak and silly creatures.

‘ I know that in all times there have been bad monks as well as other bad Christians. It is the imperfection of humanity, and not of the profession. God also from time to time raised up great men to retrieve and raise the monastic state ; as in the ninth century a Saint Benedictus, and in the tenth the first abbots of Clugni. It is from this pious congregation that came forth the brightest lights of the church for the space of two hundred years ; it was there that piety and literature flourished. If they were not altogether such as they had been five hundred years before, if these honest monks did not speak Latin as well as St. Cyprian and St. Jerom, if they did not reason as accurately and closely as St. Augustin, it was not because they were monks, it was because they lived in the tenth century. But show me other men of the same age who surpassed them. However, I confess that the most perfect monks of these later times did not equal the first monks of Ægypt and Palæstine ; and I find two reasons for it, their riches, and their literary studies. The former were not only poor as individuals, but as a community. They inhabited, not waste forests which might be improved by cultivation, but dry sandy deserts, where they built for themselves poor huts, and lived by the work of their hands, that is, by making mats and baskets, which they carried to sell at the nearest villages. See what I have said of them from the report of Cassian and of others. Thus they found out the secret of avoiding the inconveniences both of riches and of beggary, to depend upon none, and to ask alms of none. Our monks of Clugni were poor as individuals, but rich as a community. They had, like all the monks for several ages, not only lands and cattle, but slaves and vassals. Now the pretence of the good of the order,

or community, is one of the subtlest illusions of self-love. If St. Odo or St. Mayeul had refused a part of the great donations presented to them, the church had been more edified, and their successors had kept up regularity for a longer time. St. Nilus of Calabria is of all persons of that age the man who seems to me to have best comprehended the importance of monastic poverty. In effect, great revenues bring with them great cares, and disputes, and contentions with neighbours; oblige the possessors to solicit the judges, and to seek the protection of the great, and sometimes to purchase it with complaisance and flattery. The superiors of the house, and the procurators who act under their orders, are more encumbered with business than many fathers of families. The community must also be consulted, at least about the more important affairs; and thus many fall back into all the worldly cares which they had renounced, especially the superiors, who yet ought to be the most contemplative, recollected and spiritual of them all.

‘Moreover, great riches bring on a temptation to great expenses. A magnificent church must be built; it must be splendidly adorned and furnished; thereby God will be the more honoured. Suitable buildings must be adjoined, that the monks may have all conveniences for observing the rules of their order; and these buildings must be spacious and solid, for the use of a community which is both numerous and perpetual. Yet this is a check to humility, and it is natural for all this external show to make a monk think too highly of his own person; and a young man, who finds himself all on a sudden magnificently lodged, who knows that he hath a share in an immense revenue, and who sees multitudes beneath him, is tempted to imagine himself a more considerable person than he was when he lived in the world, disregarded, indigent, and perhaps of a very mean birth. When I represent to myself the abbot Desiderius, occupied for five years together in building a sumptuous church at Monte Cassino, fetching his marble pillars from Rome, and his artificers from Constantinople; and, on the other hand, St. Pachomius dwelling in a little hut made of reeds, and entirely occupied in prayer, and in forming the inward disposition of his monks; it seems to me that the latter went more

directly towards the one thing needful, and that God was more honoured in his humble habitations.

‘ The attachment to literature made also a wide difference between the antient and the more modern monks. The antients studied only Christian morality by a continual meditation on the holy Scriptures, and by the practice of every virtue. For the most part, they were simple laics, many of whom could not even read. Our western monks were for the most part clerks, from the seventh century, and consequently men of letters; and the ignorance of the laity obliged the clergy to prosecute all kind of studies. The first abbots of Clugni were the most learned men of the times; and their erudition caused them to be sought after by the bishops, by popes, and even by princes. All the world consulted them; and they could not avoid taking part in the most important affairs of church and state. The order gained by it; possessions were augmented; monasteries were multiplied; but regularity suffered, and the abbots, with all these external avocations, could not have the same application to things internal as was found in St. Antony and St. Pachomius, who had no other affairs on their hands, and who never quitted their solitudes.

‘ Besides, study interrupted bodily labour, for which a sufficient time could no longer be allowed, especially after the monks to their liturgies had added that of the Virgin Mary, together with a multitude of psalms. Now the labour of the hands contributes more than literature to the preservation of humility; and when the greatest part of the seven hours, allotted to working by the rules of St. Benedict, are retrenched, it is no longer his system. A good regulation it may be; but it is no more the same.

‘ Yet it was in these monasteries that the ceremonies of religion were the most faithfully preserved, which are one of the principal means made use of by Providence to perpetuate them through all ages, as so many sensible proofs of the objects of faith contained in the Scriptures. The celebration of Christmas and of Easter will always remind even the most ignorant that Christ was born for our salvation, and that he died and rose again. Whilst the form of baptism is continued in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,

faith in the Trinity will be preserved. As long as mass is said, a belief will be professed in the mystery of the eucharist. The forms of prayer are so many professions of faith in the doctrine of grace, as St. Augustin hath so well showed. Psalmody, and the lessons which enter into the divine service, necessarily engage us to preserve the books of the holy Scriptures, and to learn the language in which they are publicly read, ever since it hath ceased to be the vulgar tongue. And most certain it is, that it is religion which hath preserved the knowledge of the dead languages. We see that by the state of Afric, where Latin is now absolutely unknown, although in the days of St. Augustin it was spoken there as in Italy. It is then by an effect of Providence that a reverence for religion hath caused the antient tongues to be preserved. Else we should have lost the originals of the holy Scriptures, and of other antient authors, and should not be able to know whether the versions of them were faithful.

‘ Ceremonies also are a bar to innovations; they are public protests against them, which at least put a stop to prescription, and warn us of the wholesome practices of antiquity. Thus the office of Septuagesima shows us how we ought to prepare ourselves for Lent; the ceremony of Ash-Wednesday represents to us the laws of penance; the whole Lent-service shows us with what care the catechumens were prepared for baptism, and the penitents for absolution, &c. The office for the day before Easter is intended to remind us that we ought to spend in a religious manner the night before the Resurrection. If these forms had been abolished, we should be ignorant of the fervour of the antient Christians, a fervour capable of overwhelming us with a salutary confusion. And who knows whether in happier times the church may not re-establish those holy practices?

‘ The first authors who have treated of religious ceremonies lived in the ages which I am reviewing; but they all speak of them as of most antient institutions; and if in their time any new ones had been introduced, they would not have failed to observe it. To these ceremonies they assign mystical meanings, of which every one may form such judgment as he thinks fit. At least they assure us of

a matter of fact; and we may be certain that they were practised in their times, since they pretend to assign the reasons of them. This in my opinion is the chief use of these writers. But you have seen in the first six ages proofs of our ceremonies, at least of those which are most essential.

‘Lastly, these middle ages have also had their apostles, who founded new churches amongst the infidels at the expense of their blood; and these apostles were monks. Amongst the chief I count St. Austin of England, and his companions, sent by St. Gregory, who, though they did not suffer martyrdom, had the merit of it by the courage with which they exposed themselves in the midst of a nation, as then, barbarous. Nothing is more edifying than the history of that infant church, which Bede hath preserved to us, where we see virtues and miracles worthy of the first ages. And indeed it may be said that every age hath had its primitive church. That of England proved the fruitful source of the northern churches. The Anglo-Saxons, becoming Christians, had compassion on their brethren the ancient Saxons residing in Germany, and addicted to idolatry. With an active zeal they undertook to carry the lamp of the Gospel through those vast regions. Thence came the mission of St. Villebrod in Frisia, and of St. Bonifacius in Germany. It is somewhat surprising that for the space of seven hundred years so many pious bishops of Cologne, Treves, Mentz, and other cities of Gaul on the confines of Germany, should not have undertaken to convert the people beyond the Rhine. Doubtless they saw in the attempt insurmountable difficulties, either from the diversity of language, or the ferocity of these nations so remote from Christian mildness, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere. But, without presuming to penetrate into the designs of God, certain it is that he did not think fit to make himself known to the Germanic nations till about the middle of the eighth century; and that in this he showed more favour to them than to the Indians and others whom he hath left to this day under the darkness of idolatry. Now I find some remarkable circumstances in the foundation of these churches. First, they who undertook the labour of this ministry always received a mission from the pope,

though in the earliest times every bishop thought himself privileged to preach to his neighbouring infidels. But it is to be supposed that in the later ages the pope's appointment might be necessary to remove divers obstacles; and in fact I find that St. Bonifacius had to contend with certain independent and irregular priests up and down in Germany, who acknowledged the jurisdiction of no prelate. I find also that this holy martyr neglected not to secure the temporal protection of Charles Martel and of Pepin, to prevent his infant church from being stifled in the cradle. I see that afterwards such missions continued to be supported by princes: as that of Saxony by Charlemain, that of St. Anscarius in Denmark and Sweden by Louis the Debonaire, and by the kings of those countries; and so proportionably by others. These assistances were doubtless necessary in such nations; but the conversions in the first ages, brought about by mere persuasion, were certainly more solid and stable. As it was conceived that no church could subsist without a bishop, the pope always conferred this dignity on the principal missionary, whether he consecrated him himself, or whether he permitted it to be done by others. But he made him bishop of the nation in general, as of the Saxons, or the Sclavonians; leaving it to his choice to fix his see in the place that should seem to him the most convenient: for as yet the formality of the titles *In Partibus* was not invented. To this first bishop the pope gave the pall, with the title and powers of a metropolitan, that, when the number of the faithful should be augmented, he might consecrate bishops for his suffragans, out of whom his successor might be chosen, without the necessity of recurring to Rome. Of this we have given several examples.

To strengthen these new churches, they founded monasteries amongst them from the beginning: as Fulda, near Mentz, Corbeia in Saxony, and Magdeburg which became a metropolis. These were seminaries where the children of the country had their education, were instructed in religion and letters, formed to virtue, and made capable of ecclesiastical functions. Thus in a short space of time these churches were able to support themselves without standing in need of strangers. The monks also were serviceable in Germany, even in things temporal. By the labour of their

hands they began to clear and till vast forests which covered the whole land; and, by their industry and wise œconomy, grounds were cultivated, the vassals who inhabited them were multiplied, the monasteries produced large towns, and their dependences became provinces.

‘ True it is that in these young churches the care of things temporal was not advantageous to things spiritual; too much haste was made to grow rich, and particularly by the exacting of tithes. You have seen the revolt of Turingia upon this account against the archbishop of Mentz, that of Poland, and that of Denmark, which caused the martyrdom of their king St. Canute. It should seem that more regard ought to have been showed to the weakness of these new-made Christians, and more care not to render religion odious to them. I also marvel that a condescension was not used in permitting them to have the divine service performed in their own native tongue, as it was the practice in the first ages. You may have observed that the offices of the church were then in the language most used in each country, that is to say, in Latin through all the West, in Greek through all the East, except in the remoter provinces, as in Thebais, where the Ægyptian was spoken, and in the Upper Syria, where Syriac was used; insomuch that even the bishops did not understand Greek, as it appears at the council of Chalcedon, in the process against Ibas, and in the answers of the abbot Barsumas, who could only speak Syriac. See also the subscriptions of a council held at Constantinople under Mennas. The Armenians have, from the very beginning, performed divine service in their own tongue. If the nations were of a mixed kind, there were in the church interpreters to explain what was read; and St. Procopius the Martyr, according to the relation given by Eusebius, performed this office at Scythopolis in Palæstine. In the same country, St. Sabas and St. Theodosius had in their monasteries many churches, wherein the monks of different nations had their liturgy, each in his own language.

‘ As to the German nations, Valafridus Strabo, who wrote in the middle of the ninth century, testifies that the Goths, from the beginning of their conversion, had translated the sacred books into their language; and that in his

time copies of those books were extant. It must have been the version of Ulphilas, whose translation of the Gospels we have still. Valafridus adds, that amongst the Scythians of Tomos divine service was celebrated in the same tongue. When the Goths, Franks, and other Germanic people were spread through the Roman provinces, they were found so few in number compared with the old inhabitants, that it seemed not necessary for their sakes to change the language of the church. But when religion was carried into nations where the language of the country was the predominant, or rather the sole language, I think they should have had every thing granted to them that conduced to instruct and confirm them in the faith.

‘And yet I cannot imagine that St. Austin of England, and St. Bonifacius of Mentz, wanted either prudence or charity. They had a nearer view of things; and perhaps they feared that the people would remain too much separated from the rest of the Christians, if they were not united with them by the Latin tongue, and principally with Rome, the centre of ecclesiastical unity. Perhaps also they feared the difficulty of translating not only the Scriptures, where mistakes are dangerous, but other books needful for the instruction of Christians. We find indeed as early as the seventh century, in England, and the eighth, in Germany, versions of the Gospel; but this was rather for the consolation of particular persons than for the public use of the church. I find also that in the councils of Tours and of Rheims, called A. 813, it was ordered that each bishop should have, for the instruction of his flock, some homilies which all could understand. The Sclavonian language was still more favoured; St. Cyril and St. Methodius, apostles of that people, gave them in their own tongue both the holy Scriptures and the Liturgy. It is true that pope John VIII. was offended at it; but being better informed he approved it; and although Gregory VII. forbid it again, the use of it remained in some places.

‘I must confess^o, I am not moved by the reason alleged by several moderns, that such prohibitions tend to keep up a due respect for religion. A blind respect suits only a

* An honest confession, which deserves to be commended.

false religion founded on fables and frivolous superstitions. True religion, the better it is known, the more it will be revered. On the contrary, ever since the populace hath been accustomed to hear prayers at church in a language unknown to them, they have lost the desire of receiving instruction; and their ignorance hath even taught them to think that they stand in need of no instruction; whilst they, who though ignorant have good natural abilities, are tempted to entertain no favourable opinion of the things which are so industriously concealed from them.

‘Of this whole discourse the result in my opinion is, that the ages which we usually account to have been the most obscure and wretched, were not altogether so deplorable as we imagine, and were neither deprived of knowledge or of virtue. But we must in every age seek religion where it is to be found, and not be terrified to find both vice and ignorance in the most eminent sees.

‘In the seventh and eighth centuries religion declined in France and Italy, but it gathered strength in England. In the ninth it recovered itself in France; in the tenth in Germany. Whilst it suffered such great losses under the dominion of the Mussulmans in the East, Afric, and Spain, it made them up by new conquests in Saxony, Denmark, Sweden, Hungary, and Poland. There we behold a renewal of the wonders of the first ages: these nations have their doctors and their martyrs; and even the afflicted churches of Spain and of the East have theirs also. Let us then admire the conduct of Providence, which makes all things concur to serve its designs, and from the greatest evils brings forth the greatest blessings. In spite of the redoubled incursions of Barbarians, the overthrow of empires, and the concussion of the whole earth, the church, founded on a rock, remains ever firm, ever visible, like a city built on a mountain; its succession of pastors is never interrupted; it hath always had its doctors, its virgins, its professors of voluntary poverty, and its saints of a resplendent virtue.

‘I know what it is that hath brought into such contempt the ages of which we have been discoursing; it is the prejudice of the Humanists of the fifteenth century, of a Valla, a Platina, a Politian. These pretended scholars and

critics, who had a greater share of literature than of piety and good sense, and who dwelt upon the surface of things, could relish nothing besides the writings of ancient Rome and ancient Greece. Thence they had a supreme contempt for the performances of the middle ages, and accounted that all was lost when pure Latinity and ancient elegance was gone. This prejudice passed from them to the Protestants, who looked upon the revival of letters as upon the source of the Reformation. They pretended that the desolation and ruin of the church was the genuine effect of ignorance; and that the reign of Antichrist and the mystery of iniquity grew and prospered under the protection of darkness. In this Discourse I have not dissembled the state of the obscurer centuries, nor the causes and effects of that ignorance. But have you found any thing there that struck at the vitals of religion? Did they ever cease from reading and studying the Scriptures and the ancient doctors? Did they cease to believe and teach the doctrine of the trinity and incarnation, the necessity of divine grace, the immortality of the soul, and the life to come? Did they ever cease to offer up the sacrifice of the eucharist, and to administer the sacraments? Was ever a morality contrary to that of the Gospel taught with impunity? Nothing can be fairly objected from the irregularities of particular persons, and from abuses which were always condemned as such.

‘What matters it, after all, if men speak and write ill, so they believe and live well? God regardeth only the heart; impoliteness of language and rusticity of manners is nothing in his sight. There is in Christ Jesus neither Greek nor Barbarian, neither bond nor free. See how they who found grace in the sight of God are commended in the Scriptures. Noah was a just man, Job was a man of simplicity and uprightness, Moses was the meekest and mildest of men. A great and just encomium! On the contrary, scoffers are detested and cursed in numberless passages of Scripture, although for the most part they affect and cultivate elegance of speech; and politeness of manners. And, indeed, who would not choose rather to have to do with a man of strict probity, under a rough demeanour, than with a most genteel and agreeable person upon whom no

confidence could be placed? We excuse children when they are struck with splendid appearances : a man of sense loves virtue under whatsoever garb it is found.

‘ Hitherto then you have seen how Jesus Christ hath accomplished his promise in preserving his church, in spite of all the weakness of human nature, and of all the efforts of the powers of darkness !’

I HAVE here given a translation of this Dissertation of Fleury, on account of the ingenious and useful remarks, besides the historical narrations which it contains. It is drawn up, for the most part, with a decency and moderation rarely to be found in the ecclesiastical writers of his church, except Du Pin^p. Fleury, like Du Pin, was a zealous assertor of the temporal rights of kings ; and hath not scrupled to expose the crimes and encroachments of the popes, for which doubtless he was held in execration by the Jesuits, and by the see of Rome.

As to his polite and artful insinuations to reconcile us Protestants to his church, the Remarks which I have given on Ecclesiastical History are, I conceive, a full and sufficient preservative against them. One important use may be made of his Discourse : it shows most evidently the utter impossibility of any re-union between us and the Papists, even upon the more moderate^q plan laid down by this author and by some others. Between us and them there must be for ever

‘ *Litora litoribus contraria,*’ &c.

I shall not here go about to combat that baffled system of superstition and iniquity, which hath been confuted a thousand times ; and which perhaps no author ever attacked without giving it a mortal wound. Strong indeed are the prejudices of education, and the attachment to a church in which we were born and bred, and to the ministry of

^p See a Dissertation of Du Pin, *De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina* ; or an extract from it in the *Bibl. Univ.* vi. 127.

^q See *Bibl. Univ.* y. 448.

which we have devoted ourselves ; and candid allowances ought ever to be made for them. Else it would seem impossible for a man of letters, a man versed in ecclesiastical history and in the Scriptures, a man of probity and good sense, to admit the pope's spiritual authority over the Christian world, the infallibility of popes or councils, the celebration of the eucharist in one kind, transubstantiation, celibacy imposed upon the monks, the nuns, and the clergy, the worship of images and reliques, the usefulness of monasteries, the miracles ascribed to impostors, fanatics, and lunatics, and a multitude of other things so contrary to religion and to common sense.

Fleury's ecclesiastical system is built upon two positions :

First, it appears *à priori* that the church Catholic (that is, the church of Rome) cannot err, having a promise of infallibility from Jesus Christ :

Secondly, it appears *à posteriori* that in fact the church hath not erred ; and that popes and councils, ignorant and wicked as they were, have not directly established any false doctrine or heresy.

To the second position I answer :

In the ages from A. 600 to A. 1100, to which Fleury's Dissertation is confined,

The worship of the Virgin, the saints, angels, reliques, and images was carried to the utmost excess ; and maintained by violence, by lying miracles, and false revelations :

Popes, prelates, and councils took upon them to excommunicate kings, and depose them, and give their dominions to others ; and absolve the subjects from their oaths of allegiance :

The marriage of ecclesiastics was strictly condemned, as no better than fornication or adultery :

The doctrine of murdering heretics was established by a general consent, and put in execution :

Christians were not permitted by the see of Rome to have divine service in their own language :

The doctrine of transubstantiation began to be established :

Indulgences and pardons were given to the vilest of mankind, on condition that they would go and cut the throats of Heretics and Mahometans.

In the *Credenda*, or articles of faith, things were required to be believed as necessary to salvation, which, to speak in the mildest and most moderate manner, were absolutely unintelligible.

If these be not *heresies*, there is no such thing as heresy in *rerum natura*; it is a word without a meaning; unless we define it to be a doctrine received by the minority, and condemned by popes, prelates, and councils.

To Fleury's first position I say, that the pretence of infallibility is a *dream* from the *ivory gate*. All that is promised of this kind is, that there shall always be a church of Christ upon earth, that is, a number of persons, or societies, who shall profess a belief in Christ, and an adherence to his religion, in opposition to all other religions; though these Christians may err more or less in doctrine and in practice. If in the middle and lower ages of the church you want to find men who had the fewest dangerous errors, you must seek them, not amongst the *Catholics*, but amongst the *Heretics*.

As to the rights of the church and the state, which Fleury hath discussed, the case seems to stand thus:

In a Christian nation every subject bears two persons or characters; that of citizen, and that of Christian.

The civil magistrate also bears two characters; that of ruler, and that of Christian.

Considered therefore as Christians, they all constitute one religious society,

In this society, which at the same time is both religious and secular, the civil magistrate, with the consent and concurrence of the subjects, hath a right, or rather hath an obligation, to take care

That the public worship of God, according to the Gospel, be established:

That, as to points of belief, no other terms of Christian communion be required than are plainly and positively contained in the New Testament as articles of faith, required by Christ and his apostles;

That ministers and pastors of the people be appointed:

That they have a sufficient maintenance:

That there be a toleration of those who approve not the religious establishment, if they be peaceable subjects, and maintain no immoralities,

When Fleury talks of the rights and alliance of church and state, it is impossible without smiling (for it is too ridiculous to make one angry) to see that by the *church* he means the *bishops*; as though the laity, the deacons, and the presbyters were mere cyphers, mere bond slaves, *quibus sola relictæ est gloria obsequii*. And indeed all the writers, who by the *church* mean prelates, or ecclesiastical councils and convocations, or the body of the clergy, use the word *church* in a sense utterly unknown to Scripture and to primitive antiquity.

But Fleury in other places allows the Catholic church to mean the whole body of Christians. To reconcile these things, we must suppose that he considered the church in two views; the *church governing*, that is, the bishops; and the *church governed*, that is, the rest of Christians; or as some call it, *ecclesia repræsentativa*, and *ecclesia universalis*.

As to excommunication, which Fleury hath also taken into consideration, it seems, properly speaking, to be neither a part of Christian faith nor of Christian morality, but a mere matter of discipline, and consequently mutable in its own nature, and to be exercised no further than the common interest requires. Whensoever it is found to produce more harm than good (and how often that is the case I need not say) it may be dreaded, but it cannot be revered.

Kings, considered as Christians, are doubtless as much obliged as any of their subjects to conform themselves to the precepts of Jesus Christ. Yet Fleury himself is wisely of opinion that kings^r should not be excommunicated, on account of the terrible evils which it produceth in civil society; and it is too well known, to require any proof, that no one practice hath been more cursedly abused, and hath produced more pernicious effects, than excommunication. No man therefore can be very fond of it; those excepted who consider it as a *trade* which turns to a good account, and by which dominion or money is to be got.

A. 1101. Some barbarous nations were converted (if it may be called a conversion) to Christianity; and usually by mere violence.

^r It may seem hardly necessary to repeat what we have

observed before, that the savage nations which were thus converted to Christianity were rather nominal than real Christians. The religion itself which was instilled into their minds was not that pure and simple discipline which our Lord established, but a certain *art* of appeasing the Deity by ceremonies and bodily exercises, and in many respects resembling the old superstitions which they had been compelled to renounce. Take away the history and the name of Christ, the sign of the cross, a set of prayers, and a diversity of rites, and there would remain no great difference between their antient and their new religion.

‘Many practices were still permitted to them, which were entirely opposite to the nature of Christianity, and mere impieties; for the priests, a few excepted, took no care to reconcile them to God, but employed their pains in seeking their own profit, and in establishing and augmenting the dominion of the pope.’

In the Asitatic Tartary, near Cathaia, a powerful prince being dead, a Nestorian priest, called John, got the kingdom and succeeded him. This is he who is called Presbyter John, or Prester John, of whom many strange things have been related, and many disputes have been raised. His successor was conquered and slain by Ginghizcan, towards the end of this century¹.

Guibertus, or Gilbertus, a French abbot, wrote an account of the Holy War, or *Gesta Dei per Francos*. The title of his book would have been better chosen if it had been *Gesta Diaboli per Francos*.

‘Amongst the Greeks, notwithstanding the most calamitous state of the times, perpetual revolutions in the government, and intestine wars, great regard was still paid to literature and the liberal arts. This was to be ascribed, not only to the favour and the munificence of the emperors, particularly of the Comneni, but also to the vigilance of the Constantinopolitan prelates, who feared that the Greek cause would want skilful advocates against the Latins, if their clergy gave themselves up to ignorance and sloth. The Commentaries of Eustathius of Thessalonica, who hath most learnedly ex-

¹ Mosheim, p. 442.

² Mosheim, p. 444. 449. Fleury, xiv. 610. xv. 436.

plained Homer and Dionysius, show the successful industry of ingenious men in cultivating humanities and preserving antient knowledge; and many historians of those times, as Joannes Cinnamus, Michael Glycas, Joannes Zonaras, Nicephorus Briennius, and others, are proofs that there were not wanting persons disposed to oblige posterity with an account of past transactions, and able to record them in a style and manner by no means contemptible.

‘ As to philosophical knowledge, no one encouraged it more than Michael Anchialus, patriarch of Constantinople. His philosophy seems to have been the Aristotelic; for this was the prevailing taste of the Greeks in those days, as it appears both from other records, and from the interpretation given by Eustratius of the ethics and analytics of that philosopher. Nor yet was the Platonic system quite neglected; for we find that many, especially they who favoured the Mystics, preferred it by far to the Peripatetic doctrines, and were of opinion that Plato suited best the honest and pious, and Aristotle the vain-glorious and the wranglers. This dissent of judgment produced afterwards the famous controversy, who ought to have the preference, Plato or Aristotle.

‘ In the greater part of the western world an incredible zeal was kindled to cultivate and advance every branch of literature. Some of the pontiffs, kings, and princes, who saw the signal service which redounded to the state from the encouragement given to letters, exerted their authority and their liberality on this occasion. Hence were formed colleges or sodalities of men of letters, who taught arts and sciences, and drew together a concourse of youths desirous of instruction; and thus by degrees those larger schools were erected, which in the next age were called universities. Paris surpassed all the cities of Europe in learned professors, schools of various kinds, and the number of the students; so that this city, about the middle of this century, exhibited the first pattern of our present universities, rough indeed and imperfect, but afterwards improved and polished. About the same time an illustrious school was founded at Anjou, by the care and direction of Ulger, the bishop of the place, for various studies, but principally for jurisprudence. There was already at Montpellier a famous academy for civil law and for physic. A like school of great reputation was in

Italy, at Bologna, whose origin seems to have been elder than this century; and it was chiefly frequented by those who studied the Roman and the canon law, especially after the emperor Lotharius II. had re-established and honoured it with new privileges. In the same province the Salernitan school for the study of physic, which had before been in high reputation, attracted a multitude of disciples. These various academies arising in Europe, Alexander III. in a council at Rome, A. 1179, decreed that there should be new schools founded, or old ones re-established in the monasteries and the cathedral churches; for those which had formerly been there were either entirely dropped, or extremely sunk. But the superior merit and splendor of academies and literary societies kept these lower schools from making a figure, and rendered the papal decree of small effect.

‘The authority and dignity of the antient Roman law flourished in Italy, and prevailed over the other laws, after the time when, under the emperor Lotharius II., A. 1137, at the taking of Amalfi, the celebrated code of the Pandects or Digests, which for many ages had been hardly known, was found and fell into the hands of the Pisans, &c.”

A. 1104. Henry V. waged war with his father Henry IV., and deposed him, on pretence of religion, and of defending the papal power; and pope Paschal II. released this rebellious son from his duty and allegiance to his father and his king. It was the excommunication of Henry IV. that gave his son an opportunity to rise up against him; and he was excited to this impiety by letters from the pope, who exhorted him to succour the church of God. What made his crime still blacker, was, that his father had shared his authority with him, and had made him king.

This young prince appeared at a council, showing great modesty and humility, and the most profound reverence towards the prelates. With tears in his eyes, he called God and all the court of heaven to witness that he had no desire to reign, or to see his lord and his father deposed. On the contrary, said he, I have been deeply afflicted at his disobedience and obstinacy; and if he will submit himself to St. Peter and to his successors the popes, I am ready

* Mosheim, p. 450.

to surrender up the kingdom to him, and to obey him even as the lowest of his subjects. This godly and meek behaviour of Henry V. drew tears from the whole assembly. So admirably did the young rascal play the hypocrite!

Paschal afterwards had quarrels and contentions with this prince, and was driven to grant him some privileges, and to make peace with him on disadvantageous terms; for which being severely censured, he called a council, and submitted himself entirely to the determination of the prelates. They therefore rescinded the agreement between the pope and the king, and absolved their pontiff from his contract and his promises. Thus the pope, to get out of the toils, fairly acknowledged the superior authority of councils*.

A. 1105. Paschal exhorted Robert, count of Flanders, to make war with Henry IV., and with his adherents, the clergy of Liege; and promised him and his soldiers the remission of sins, and a mansion in the heavenly Jerusalem.

The clergy of Liege on this occasion drew up an excellent apology, addressed to all Christian people. They declare themselves firmly attached to the unity of the church, and to Paschal as to the head of the church. They hold themselves to be unjustly excommunicated for rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, according to the Gospel, and in opposition to all novel traditions. Having taken an oath of allegiance to their king, they cannot violate it without perjury. The dispensing with such oaths is an innovation introduced by pope Hildebrand (Gregory VII.). He is the first, say they, who drew the murdering temporal sword against sovereign princes, and by his example taught his successors to do the like. He is the first who absolved sinners from all their sins past, present, and to come, if they would but fight against the emperor, without requiring from them confession, repentance, and amendment; thus binding and loosing in a way unknown to Scripture and pious antiquity, and setting the door wide open to all kind of malice and wickedness, &c.†

A. 1106. Henry IV., taken prisoner by his rebellious

* Mosheim, p. 457, &c. Fleury. xiv. 71, &c.

† Fleury, xiv. 78.

son, was obliged to renounce the kingdom, and surrender it up to him; and died soon after^z.

Robert D'Arbrisselles, a wild enthusiast and field-preacher, and the founder of a monastery, made no small noise in those times. He drew after him a multitude of female saints, with whom he used to lie in bed, but never touch them, by way of self-denial and mortification. His enemies have charged him with these practices; and indeed austerities of this kind seem to suit the fanatical taste^a.

An anonymous author, who flourished at this time, wrote the Life of Henry IV. He is an historian of singular integrity and of no less elegance, who, having recorded the things relating to Henry with impartiality and veracity, chose rather to conceal his name than to expose himself to malice and persecution.

In this writer, says Casaubon, I am at a loss what to admire most, the elegance of style, which for those times is astonishing, or the dignity and importance of his remarks, or the piety which is conspicuous through the whole. If he had lived in a happier age, I should have judged him not inferior to any Greek and Latin author, and his work not less to be esteemed than the Life of Agricola by Tacitus^b.

A. 1114. Some heretics, called Manichæans, were seized and imprisoned at Soissons, and burnt by the enraged populace^c.

A. 1118. Amongst the Letters of Paschal II. we find one in which he orders, in the communion, to give the two kinds separately, and not the bread dipped in the wine, as it was practised at Clugni. He makes an exception for children and sick persons, who could not swallow the bread. Hence it appears that the eucharist was then given to infants^d.

A. 1121. Abelard was condemned in a council, for a treatise which he had written on the Trinity^e.

A. 1122. A concordatum, or agreement, was made between the pope and the emperor concerning the election of ecclesiastics, which still subsists^f.

^a Fleury, xiv. 82.

^b Ibid. xiii. 622. xiv. 97.

^c Cave, ii. 189.

^e Fleury, xiv. 194.

^d Ibid. 237.

^e Ibid. 306. Bayle, *Abelard*.

^f Mosheim, p. 459.

A. 1123. The bishops in a council make heavy complaints against the monks. Nothing more, say they, remains for the monks to attempt, unless it be to take our jurisdiction from us, and to exercise it themselves. They possess churches, lands, castles, tenths, oblations of the living and of the dead. The glory of the canonical order and of the clergy is obscured, since the monks, forgetting all heavenly views, engross the episcopal rights with an insatiable ambition, instead of leading quiet and retired lives, according to the intention of their founder St. Benedict.

The city of Antwerp, though large and populous, had only one priest belonging to it; and he had no authority, because he kept his niece for his concubine. A heretic called Tanchelm took this occasion to seduce the people. He was a very profligate man, but cunning and eloquent. He set at nought the pope, the bishops, and the clergy; and said that he and his followers were the only true church. He made use of the women whom he had corrupted, to insinuate his errors, and by their help he gained the husbands. When he had drawn over a multitude of people, he preached in the country, arrayed like a king, and attended with guards who carried before him a standard and a sword; and the besotted populace hearkened to him as to an angel sent from God. He said that the churches were houses of prostitution; that the sacraments were profanations, particularly the eucharist, and of no efficacy for salvation; and he maintained that the virtue of the sacraments depended upon the holiness of the ministers. He told the people not to pay tithes, and he found no difficulty to persuade them in this point. In general, he preached such doctrines as he thought would be most acceptable to the audience, and attracted them not only by his eloquence, but by feasting them with good cheer. He had in his retinue three thousand men, armed and ready to cut the throats of all who should resist him.

Puffed up with this success, he ascribed divinity to himself, saying that he had as good a title to it as Jesus Christ, having received the fulness of the Spirit. So infatuated were his followers, as to drink the water in which he had bathed himself, and to keep it as a holy relique. He lay with girls in the presence of their mothers, and with wives before

their husbands. This he called a spiritual work ; and the females who were not admitted to this honour accounted themselves unhappy. One day he contrived a new scheme to enrich himself. He produced before the multitude an image of the Virgin Mary, and, taking it by the hand, repeated the office of matrimony. Then he added ; You see that I have espoused the Virgin : you must make us nuptial presents. He ordered two coffers to be placed on each side of the image, one for the men, the other for the women, and said, We shall see which of the two sexes hath the most affection for me and my spouse. Every one made his offerings liberally, and the women put in even their necklaces and ear-rings. After this wretch had propagated his doctrines in various parts about Utrecht and Cambray, he was at last demolished by a priest, who broke his scull, as they were together in a boat^s.

The man was either quite mad, or a consummate villain, if the things with which his adversaries charge him were true. But as he vehemently inveighed against the clergy, they might perhaps calumniate him by way of revenge^h.

Guibert, abbot of Nogent, wrote a Treatise on the Reliques of the Saints, occasioned by a *tooth* of Jesus Christ, which the monks of St. Medard pretended to have. He allows that we ought to honour the reliques of the saints, in order to imitate their example and obtain their protection : but he observes that we ought first to be well assured both of the sanctity of those whom we honour, and of the genuineness of their reliques. He is of opinion that miracles alone are not a sufficient proof of sanctity ; and he informs us, by the way, that it was in his time a common opinion that the kings of France cured the king's evil. He says that the inventors of false miracles deserved the severest punishment, because they ascribed to God what he had not done, and, as far as in them lay, made him a liar. He mentions many examples of fictitious lives of saints, and of false reliques ; and to show the caution and reservedness of the church with relation to uncertain facts, he says that she dares not affirm the resurrection of the holy Virgin, how strong soever may be the arguments which support it,

^s Fleury, xiv. 336.

^h Mosheim, p. 485.

and that she only permits us to think so. He blames the practice of taking the bodies of saints out of their graves, to remove them, or to divide them, as being contrary to antient usage, and furnishing opportunities to impose upon the world by false reliques.

Proceeding to the pretended reliques of our Saviour, he says that we ought to seek none, except the holy eucharist, in which Christ hath left us, not some fragments of himself, but his whole body. And here he defends the real bodily presence against Berenger and others.

As to the *tooth* of Christ, which was said to be one of his young teeth, he ranks this relique with that of his *navel*, which others pretended to have. He rejects them, as contrary to the Christian faith, which holds that Jesus Christ at his resurrection re-assumed his whole body: besides which, it is highly improbable that the Virgin should have laid up such things, any more than her own *milk*, which was showed at Laon. These sentiments of Guibert are the more remarkable, because both in this and in other of his works he shows himself extremely credulous about miraclesⁱ.

A. 1124. The Pomeranians were converted by Otto, bishop of Bamberg. He ~~knew~~ that in Pomerania beggars were despised and hated; and that some missionaries having appeared in that form could not even obtain a hearing, and were rejected as poor vagabonds, who only wanted to get a maintenance. He resolved therefore to come to them as a rich man, to show these Barbarians that he did not seek to get their money, but to save their souls. He took with him men of abilities, with sufficient provisions for the journey, missals and other books, chalices, and ornaments for a church; with splendid robes, and fine clothes, to present to the principal men of the nation^k.

A. 1125. Joannes Cremensis, the pope's legate, who had published a law, in a synod at London, against the clergy that kept concubines, on the same night, after the celebration of the mass, was found in bed with a whore, &c.^l.

A. 1128. The order of the knights-templars, the first military order, was established. St. Bernard gives a most excellent character to these fighting saints. How well they de-

ⁱ Fleury, xiv. 340.

^k Ibid. 346.

^l Cave, ii. 263.

served it, the Lord knows. He observes, which makes the wonder still greater, that these saints had been for the most part debauched, impious, perjured, sacrilegious thieves, murderers, fornicators, adulterers, ravishers, who now joined to the innocence of the lamb the courage of the lion^m.

A. 1130. Two popes were elected, and a schism ensued. Such schisms often happened afterwardsⁿ.

At this time flourished our William of Malmsbury.

‘Inter vetustissimos rerum nostrarum auctores, et narrationis fide et judicii maturitate principem locum tenet Gulielmus Malmsburiensis, homo, ut erant ea tempora, literate doctus, qui septingentorum plus minus annorum res tanta fide et diligentia pertexuit, ut è nostris prope solus historici munus explesse videatur^o.’

A. 1131. A canon of the council of Rheims forbids tilts and tournaments, on account of the great danger which ariseth from them both to the body and to the soul. Christian burial is refused to those who die in these combats, though absolution and the viaticum is granted them, if they live long enough to request it. But it appears not that these ecclesiastical prohibitions, though often reiterated, could put a stop to these practices, which continued to be frequent for four hundred years^p.

A. 1139. Pope Innocent II. held a council at Lateran, where were assembled about a thousand bishops. In his speech to them he said; You all know that Rome is the capital of the world, and that all ecclesiastical dignities are held and received by permission of the Roman pontiff as by a fief; and without his leave cannot be lawfully possessed.

This is the first time that we find ecclesiastical stations compared to *fiefs*, which are altogether of a different nature^q.

It appears that at this time the canons of cathedral churches claimed a right of electing their bishop, excluding not only the laity but the curates, and all the clergy both

^m Fleury, xiv. 387. 479. Bibl. Univ. xix. 508.

ⁿ Mosheim, p. 459.

^o Saville.

^p Fleury, xiv. 428.

^q Ibid. §28.

secular and regular ; which was contrary to the antient laws and practices^r.

Arnauld de Bresse, having declaimed violently against the vices of the clergy, was silenced by this council of Lateran, which is accounted to be the tenth general council. He was afterwards condemned by the clergy, and burnt alive at Rome^s.

‘ A. 1140. A controversy arose about the *immaculate conception*, as it was called, of the Virgin Mary. Some French churches began to celebrate a festival dedicated to this conception, which the English had observed before, upon the authority, as they said, of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. Amongst the more eminent churches, that of Lyon was the first, or one of the first, which adopted it. St. Bernard hearing of this, severely reprimanded the canons of Lyon for the innovation, in an epistle addressed to them, and also attacked the doctrine itself. Hence arose a dissension, some favouring the ecclesiastics of Lyon, and adopting their sentiments, others defending Bernard’s opinion. But after the Dominicans had settled themselves in the academy of Paris, the dispute grew much more violent, whilst the Dominicans sided with Bernard, and the academy with the clergy of Lyon.

‘ The doctrine of the immaculate conception soon grew prevalent, as more agreeable to the superstitious devotion and blind zeal of the age, in which a veneration for the Virgin Mary had already exceeded all bounds.

‘ The Greeks and other eastern Christians were engaged during this century in a fierce contention with fanatics of various sorts, who are reported to have believed in a twofold Trinity, rejected matrimony and flesh-meat, despised all public worship of God, as also baptism and the Lord’s supper, placed the sum of religion in prayer alone ; and taught, as it is said, that an evil dæmon dwelt in every man, and was to be expelled by continual prayer.

‘ Certain it is, that both in this, and in many preceding ages, there were amongst the Greeks and Syrians, especially amongst the monks, such sort of men, not profligate, but crack-brained. The accounts which are given concerning them are not entirely to be credited. It is rather highly pro-

^r Fleury, xiv. 529.

^s Ibid. xv. 8.

bable, and many things make it so, that in this detested number there were several pious and religious persons, who incurred the hatred of the Greeks, because they opposed the arbitrary dominion and the vices of the priests, and derided the vile superstition which was established by public authority. The Greeks and their eastern neighbours gave to all these people the common and invidious denomination of *Massaliani*, or of *Eucheta*; just as the Latins call those in general *Waldenses* or *Albigenses*, who were enemies to the pope. It is to be observed that these appellations used by the Greeks are vague and ambiguous, and promiscuously applied to all, whether honest or wicked, wise or mad, who had an unfavourable opinion of the public rites and ceremonies, censured the vices of ecclesiastics, and accounted piety to be the one thing needful.

‘The Latins enumerate many more sects. For as religion grew more and more corrupted, and the clerical order more flagitious, the popes neglected their own proper duty, and augmented the impiety of the people by various ways, and principally by the trade of indulgences. The bishops and priests were more occupied in gratifying their own lusts than in promoting the cause of God. In this state of things, good men, who were desirous to save themselves and others, although of slender capacities, could easily discern that true Christianity was lost; and made attempts to restore it. But few of them having either the powers of reasoning well, or a proper share of erudition in those days of ignorance, they misunderstood and misapplied the holy Scriptures. Hence it unavoidably came to pass that they sometimes departed as much from the design and sense of the Gospel as from the Romish religion, and passed beyond all due bounds in censuring and correcting.

‘Amongst the sects of that age, the principal place is to be given to the *Cathari*, or *Puritans*, who, coming forth from Bulgaria, disturbed almost all the regions of Europe, and were massacred without mercy wheresoever they were found. The religion of this faction was somewhat of kin to that which was antiently professed by the Gnostics and Manichæans; and therefore they also were vulgarly called Manichæans, although in many points they differed from genuine Manichæans. However, they all held that evil had its rise

from matter ; that the Maker of the world was not the Supreme God ; that Christ had no true and real body ; and that, properly speaking, he neither was born, nor died ; that human bodies were formed by the devil, and perished at death, without any hope of a resurrection ; that baptism and the Lord's supper were of no virtue and efficacy. They all required of their followers to live hardly and austere, to abstain from things animate, from flesh, and wine, and marriage. They despised the Old Testament, and only received the New, and particularly the four Gospels, which they held in veneration. To omit other points, they affirmed that rational souls by a cruel fatality were incarcerated in human bodies, and could only be released by continence, fasting, a dry food, and other such like methods.

‘ But of all the sects which sprang up in this century, none acquired a greater reputation for innocence and probity, by the concessions even of its persecutors, and none drew together more followers, than that of those people who from their author were called *Waldenses*, and from the place where they first appeared, *Pauperes de Lugduno*, or *Leonistæ*. Petrus Valdensis, a wealthy merchant of Lyon in France, and a very pious man, caused some parts of the holy Scriptures to be translated from the Latin into French, particularly the four Gospels, and some select sentences from the antient fathers, about A. 1160. Upon a careful perusal of those books, he saw that the religion which the Roman church propounded to the people was entirely different from that which Jesus Christ and his apostles had taught ; and desiring to save his soul, he distributed his goods amongst the poor ; and, in the year 1180, having collected a religious society, he undertook the office of a teacher. The archbishop of Lyon, and other prelates, opposed this innovation ; but the plain and holy religion which these good men professed, the acknowledged innocence of their lives, and that contempt which they showed of riches and honours, caused multitudes of well-disposed Christians to join with them. And thus many congregations of them were formed, first in France, and then in Lombardy, and thence in other parts of Europe, more speedily than could have been imagined, which no persecutions, no punishments, and no massacres could totally extirpate.

‘The design of Petrus Valdis and of his adherents was not to make a new religion, and to propound new doctrines, but rather to bring back the state of the church, the manners of the teachers, and the behaviour of Christians, to that primitive and apostolical simplicity which might be collected, as they thought, from the discourses of Jesus Christ himself. They taught therefore that the Roman church had departed from its former sanctity and purity in the time of Constantine the Great; they refused to submit to the usurped powers of its pontiff; they said that the prelates and doctors ought to imitate the poverty of the apostles, and earn their bread by the labour of their hands; they contended that the office of teaching, confirming, and admonishing the brethren belonged in some measure to all Christians; they wanted to restore the old discipline of *penitence*, which the indulgences had almost obliterated; and they taught that true penitence consisted in expiating past transgressions by prayer, by fasting, and by almsgiving; and they added, that any pious Christian was capable of giving proper directions to a penitent sinner to make his peace with God, and that there was no occasion to confess to a priest; that the power of remitting sin, and the punishment of sin, belonged to God alone; that indulgences were the invention of sordid avarice; that funeral rites and prayers for the dead were idle ceremonies, since the souls of the departed entered into no middle state of purgation, but went directly either to heaven or to hell, &c. Their discipline was extremely strict and austere: for they interpreted Christ’s discourse upon the Mount according to the literal sense of the words; and they condemned war, lawsuits, industry in acquiring riches, capital punishments, oaths, and self-defence¹.’

Nicolas Antonius, in his *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, enumerates no less than one hundred-and-sixty authors, all of them Spaniards, who have written concerning the immaculate conception².

A. 1147. They who had gone to the holy war, being in great streights, and oppressed by the Mahometans, called aloud for help from Europe; and a second expedi-

¹ Mosheim, p. 479. See also Cave, ii. 182. Bibl. Univ. xx. 199. xxiii. 361. L’Enfant, Conc. de Basle, i. 9. &c.

² Amœn. Liter. ii. 412.

tion was set on foot, by the authority of St. Bernard, which proved extremely unfortunate, and cost Europe an immense waste of treasure and loss of men.

The croisez, instigated by some wicked wretches, began again to massacre the Jews; but Bernard opposed it. Peter, abbot of Clugni, also declared against putting them to death; but advised the princes to strip them of all their money. Even Bernard confesseth that many of the croisez were the vilest of mankind.

They took Lisbon, at that time occupied by the Moors. Manuel, the emperor of Constantinople, did them all the mischief that he could: and then the Turks fell upon them, and destroyed most of them.

A third expedition was carried on, in the year 1189, which like the former exhausted Germany, France, and England to no purpose.

These holy wars gave rise to three fighting orders, or establishments of saints militant; the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the knights Templars, and the Teutonic knights. The first of these are now knights of Malta.

St. Bernard was an enthusiast from his youth, and had almost killed himself by monkish austerities. He refused several bishoprics through humility, as his admirers suppose. But it is no wonder that he declined them, since he was far more respected as an abbot than he would have been if he had condescended to stoop to an archbishopric. He could create popes, and command kings, and lead councils by the nose. His advice was asked by the greatest persons in church and state; and he was even adored by the common people, who fancied that he was an inspired man, and endued with the gifts of healing.

In support of the croisade he wrought such a multitude of miracles, that the *Martins* and the *Symeons* were hardly fit to hold a candle to him. They are collected by Fleury. Read them, and then compare them with the *lies* contained in Lucian's Dialogue called *Philopseudes*.

Having promised the croisez great success in the name of the Lord, and finding them soundly banged, and utterly discomfited, he wrote an Apology for himself, justifying his promises, and laying the fault entirely on the vices of the croisez. You never knew a fanatic pretending to prophecy

who ever blushed when his predictions came to nought, or ever was at a loss for some paltry subterfuge in his own vindication.

Bernard died in the year 1153, and is called^x *the last of the fathers* : he might also be called *the father of monasteries*, having been the founder of a hundred-and-sixty. He was canonized twenty years after his death. Du Pin^y hath written his Life ; and Cave^z bestows great encomiums upon him^a.

‘ The writers of this age made loud complaints of the fury and cruelty of the Saracens towards the eastern Christians ; and we have no reason to reject their testimony. But most of them suppress the causes of this barbarity, which are to be ascribed to the Christians themselves. By the laws of arms, it was allowed to the Saracens to repel force with force ; and it cannot be conceived with what face the Christians should require of a people whom they attacked with numerous armies, and destroyed whensoever they were able, that they should take it all patiently, and not retaliate. Add to this, that the Christians, in their expeditions, committed most detestable outrages in the East, and treated the Saracens with the utmost barbarity.

‘ Is it strange that a nation thus provoked and injured should have thought itself licensed to act in the same manner ? that a nation not at all inclined to humanity and lenity, and irritated by the calamities of this *holy war*, as it was called, should oppress those of its subjects who were of the same religion with its sworn enemies^b ?’

Bernard, who was the constant persecutor of poor Abelard, said of him :

‘ Cum de Trinitate loquitur, sapit Arium ; cum de gratia, sapit Pelagium ; cum de persona Christi, sapit Nestorium.’

‘ Bernard was ingenious, and in many points of a sound judgment, but of a superstitious and an overbearing temper, who knew how to conceal a domineering spirit under

^x *Ultimus Patrum.*

^y *T. iv. p. 48.*

^z *ii. 195.*

^a *Mosheim, p. 444. Fleury, xiv. 47.*

^b *Mosheim, p. 448. L'Enfant, Conc. de Pise. ii. 72. 98.*

the appearance of great piety; and made no scruple, by false accusations, to ruin those whom he could not endure.

‘Abelard, the disciple of Anselm, was the most remarkable person of the times, for wit, elegance, erudition, logical skill, and unhappy fates. A great man he was, worthy of a better age, and better fortune^c.’

One manifest advantage which the popes foresaw from the croisades, was, that the princes going upon such expeditions would probably leave their realms to the care of ecclesiastics; and, returning home beggared to their impoverished subjects, would be the more supple and submissive to the papal see.

A. 1147. Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers, was accused of a heresy, which consisted of some logical and metaphysical quirks and subtleties about the doctrine of the Trinity. Bernard was his zealous opposer and accuser: and they fought together, *more Andabatarum*^d.

A. 1148. There was a croisade of the Saxons against the northern Pagans, whom they resolved either to convert or to extirpate. This attempt produced the usual effects, ravages, and murders, and then was dropped^e.

One Eon, a French heretic, or rather lunatic, pretended to be the Son of God, and seduced many of the vulgar. He was put in prison, and died there^f.

St. Hildegardis, a fanatical nun, and a worker of wonders, had visions and revelations; and was countenanced by St. Bernard, pope Innocent III., and many others^h.

A. 1155. King Frederic and pope Adrian IV. had an interview. The pope and the cardinals were enraged because the king did not perform the ceremony of holding the pope's stirrup. The king prostrated himself before him, and kissed his feet; and then approached to receive the kiss of peace, as it was called. But the pope told him that he could not grant him that favour till he had paid the pope the honour which all orthodox emperors had showed to his predecessors, out of respect to the holy apostles,

^c Mosheim, p. 468. 476. Cave, ii. 203. Du Pin, t. ix. p. 108.

^d Fleury, xiv. 635. 661.

^e Ibid. 656.

^f Ibid. 658.

^h Ibid. 673. xv. 457.

The king demurred, and the next day was spent in conferences about it. At last, the king consulted the old lords who had accompanied Lotharius at his interview with pope Innocent; and being assured that such was the custom, both by their testimony, and by antient monuments, he performed the office of groom to the pope, and held his stirrupⁱ.

A. 1158. Gratian's Decree, or his Collections of Canons, though full of ignorance and of blunders, and magnifying the pope's authority beyond all bounds, passed for ecclesiastical law in this time and in the three following centuries. He was a Benedictin monk^k.

A. 1160. Some foreign heretics were found in England, and condemned by the bishops. Then they were beaten with sticks, scourged, burnt in the face, and turned adrift; and no person being permitted to lodge or to feed them, they all perished with cold and hunger. To have hanged them would have been mercy compared with such usage^l.

'Petrus Blesensis *primus omnium fuit, qui in re eucharistica transubstantiationis vocabulum usurpasse dicitur*^m.'

At this time flourished Joannes Cinnamus, a Greek historian, and a good writer.

'Dictio ejus purior est tersiorque quam aliorum esse Græculorum solet: imo Xenophontis ipsius, quem in Praefatione laudat, æmulus estⁿ.'

A. 1166. Demetrius, a Greek, an illiterate man, and a great pretender to theological knowledge, broached a notion that Christ was equal to his Father in all respects, that is, I suppose, both as man and as God. A council of Constantinople condemned his doctrine^o.

Henry II., king of England, came to Normandy, and called an assembly of prelates and barons, and appointed a collection of money for the relief of the Holy Land, at the request and after the example of the king of France, and in execution of the decree of pope Alexander. This assessment was laid upon all persons, without exception, and

ⁱ Fleury, xv. 9. Cave, ii. 230.

^k Fleury, xv. 54. Cave, ii. 215.

^l Fleury, xv. 113.

^m Cave, ii. 233.

ⁿ G. J. Vossius. Cave, ii. 235.

^o Fleury, xv. 244.

was to last five years. It seems to have been the first instance of a subsidy for this purpose^p.

A. 1167. Some Manichæans, as they were called, were burnt at Burgundy^q.

A. 1168. Pope Alexander submitted to the bishop of Roschild the island of Rugia, newly converted. For Valdemar, king of Denmark, had conquered the Sclavonian Rugians, inhabitants of that island. He besieged their capital, which surrendered to him. The first articles of capitulation were, that they should deliver up to the king their idol, called *Suantovit*, with all its treasures; that they should give up without ransom all their Christian captives; and that they should themselves embrace Christianity. *Suantovit*, whom these Barbarians held to be their supreme God, was originally the martyr *Saint Vitus*. Some Saxon monks, who honoured the reliques of this saint, had formerly introduced the Gospel into Rugia, and had founded a church there, dedicated to their patron-saint; but these people, relapsing into idolatry, forgot the true God, and in his stead worshipped this martyr, called him *Suantovit*, and made an image of him. So dangerous is it, as Fleury himself observes, to teach Pagan idolaters too soon the worship of saints, and of their images, before they have been well instructed and confirmed in the belief of the true God.

Suantovit had a magnificent temple in the city: his idol was gigantic, and had four heads, two looking forwards, and two backwards. In his right hand he held a horn, adorned with various metals. His pontiff filled it every year with wine; and as this liquor wasted, or not, he foretold the plenty or sterility of the year. To this idol they sacrificed animals, and then feasted upon them; they also sacrificed men, but only Christians. All the country paid tributes and oblations to this deity; and his pontiff was a much more considerable person than the king^r.

A. 1170. Saxo Grammaticus, a most elegant writer for the age in which he lived, wrote the History of his countrymen the Danes^s.

^p Fleury, xv. 221.

^q Ibid. 274.

^r Ibid. 278.

^s Cave, ii. 241.

A. 1177. The emperor Frederic made peace with pope Alexander III.

‘Some have reported that this pontiff put his foot upon the neck of the prostrate emperor, and repeated the words of the ninetyeth Psalm; *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis; et conculcabis leonem et draconem.* But it is now the general opinion^t that the story is not built upon sufficient authority.

‘Alexander, who made himself famous by this war with Frederic, had also violent contentions with Henry II. of England, on account of Thomas Becket.

‘He secured the ecclesiastical authority, and particularly the power of the Roman pontiffs, not only by arms, but by artifice, and by enacting new laws. For in the third^u Lateran council he made a decree, that for the future, to avoid the usual contentions and disturbances at the election of a pope, the right of choosing him should be vested in the cardinals alone; and he should be a lawful pope who had the suffrages of two-thirds of the college of cardinals. This law still continues in force from its establishment; and by it not only the people but the Roman clergy are excluded from any share in the nomination of popes.

‘He was the first pontiff who, in the same council, proclaimed a holy war against heretics, who at that time disturbed the Catholic church, and particularly some provinces of France.

‘He took away from the bishops, and even from general councils, the right of appointing and nominating those who should be publicly worshipped as saints; and added *canonization*, as it is called, to the *major causes*, that is, to those which pertain to the cognizance of the pope alone.

‘He also, to pass over lesser exploits, put in actual practice the power which the pontiffs had claimed from the time of Gregory VII. to create kings. For he gave^x the royal title and dignity to Alphonsus I. duke of Lusitania, who before, under Lucius II., had subjected his province, and made it tributary to the see of Rome.^y

Thomas Becket was most justly canonized by the pope,

^t See Bibl. Univ. xiv. 6.

^x A. 1179.

^u A. 1179.

^y Mosheim, p. 461. *Cave*, ii. 232.

since he lost his life for maintaining popish innovations, and the tyrannical power which the church, as they called it, usurped over the state. His blessed bones wrought numberless miracles, till Henry VIII. demolished them².

‘ A. 1178. At this time the Templars acted the part of free-booters and murderers. A prince of the assassins in Phœnicia sent a deputy to the king of Jerusalem, declaring himself and his people inclined to receive the Christian religion. The king sent him back to his master, with one of his own guards to protect him. But the Templars assassinated the deputy as he was returning home; and the king was unable to chastize or restrain them. The knights Templars and Hospitallers had scarcely been established sixty years before they were corrupted to such a degree, that both Christian and Mahometan writers, though seldom concurring in the same sentiments, agree in describing them as the vilest of mankind.

‘ The assassins were a sect of Mahometans, who arose in the year 891, when Carmat, a pretended prophet in Arabia, drew after him many followers. He fasted, and laboured with his hands, and prayed fifty times a day. He promised to re-establish the family of Ali, and to dethrone the califs. He released his disciples from the most troublesome observances of their religion, permitting them to drink wine, and to eat any kind of food. By this indulgence, joined to the hopes of plunder, he collected a great army, and ravaged the dominions of the calif. He had a series of successors, of whom the most famous was Abou-Taher, who having desolated the provinces with an army of a hundred thousand men, and robbed the caravans of the pilgrims³, took Mecca, murdered all the pilgrims who were assembled in the temple, and carried away the *black stone*, which was the object of their devotion, and caused the pilgrimage to cease for twelve years.

‘ Afterwards these Carmatians, being enfeebled, kept their religion concealed, and mixed themselves with the Mahometans. In the year 1090 they were settled in Persia; where Hacén, their chief, receiving a threatening message

² See Stillingfleet, vol. v. p. 710.

³ A. 929.

from the sultan, commanded one of his subjects, in the presence of the messenger, to fling himself from the top of a tower, and another to kill himself, which they instantly performed. Then Hacen said to the messenger, Tell your master that I have seventy thousand men ready to do as much. The Carmatians, unknown and desperate, went about and murdered several princes in a treacherous way. Historians call their prince *the old man of the mountain*, which is a literal translation of his Arabic name; and as they commonly made use of the poniard, they were called *hassissins*, which we have changed to *assassins*.

‘The Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, speaks of them in his Voyages, which end at the year 1173. His relations are full of fables and gross geographical errors, so that he is justly suspected of writing what he had heard from others concerning places which he pretends to have visited.

‘This is the time of the first famous rabbins. After the Talmud, which was completed in the year 500, the Jews have only a few books written before 1000. From that time literature began to revive amongst them; and treatises were composed by Nathan, Aben-ezra of Spain, Solomon Jarchi of France, Maimonides of Corduba, and David Kimhi of Spain^b.’

A. 1175. In a council at London, it is decreed in one of the Canons:

The eucharist shall not be given dipped, under pretence of making the communion more complete.

It was then the more usual custom to receive the eucharist only in one kind^c.

Pope Alexander approved a new military order of St. James in Spain, consisting of clerks and of knights; the former observers of celibacy, the latter married men, whose wives were accounted sisters of the order. Their business was to wage war with the Saracens, &c.^d

A. 1176. Petrus Comestor published his Scholastic History, a very paltry performance, and yet received with such applause, that for three hundred years it was accounted a body of positive theology, and held the same rank with

^b Fleury, xv. 377.

^c Ibid. 402.

^d Ibid. 406.

the Sentences of Peter Lombard; and Gratian's Decretals. This might give rise to a fable believed for a long time, that these three authors were brethren.

A. 1179. In a council of Lateran, the fourth canon forbids archbishops and bishops to impoverish and pillage the clergy and the churches by their exactions at their visitations. It adds :

If a bishop ordain a priest or a deacon, without assigning him a certain title for his subsistence, he shall maintain him till he gives him some ecclesiastical revenue ; unless the clerk can subsist by his own patrimony.

This is the first canon that mentions a patrimony, or an estate, as serving for an ecclesiastical title.

The twenty-third canon says ;

Wheresoever there are lepers numerous enough to form a society, and to have a church, a church-yard, and a priest to officiate, this favour shall be granted to them ; and they shall also be exempted from paying tithes of the fruits of their gardens, and of their cattle.

This is likewise the first constitution that I have observed concerning societies of lepers^e.

At this council the pope condemned as *heretical*, this proposition of Peter Lombard :

Jesus Christ, considered as man, is not any thing, or, something^f.

But *nonsense* can hardly be called *heresy*.

The pope at the same time consecrated two English bishops, and two Scots. Of the Scots, one came to Rome with only one horse ; the other on foot, with only one companion. There came also an Irish bishop, who had no other revenue than the milk of three cows ; and when the cows ceased to yield milk, his diocesans furnished him with three others.

This was the *ætas lactea* with the Irish prelates : the *ætas aurea* was not yet come.

St. Laurence, who at that time was archbishop of Dublin, was a very religious man, according to the religion of those days. When he lay on his death-bed, being admo-

^e Fleury, xv. 466.

^f Cave, ii. 220.

nished to make his will, he replied, God knoweth that I have not a single penny⁵.

A. 1180. The emperor Manuel Comnenus died whilst he was occupied about a theological controversy, which was terminated three months after. There was in the Catechism of the Greeks an anathema against the God of Mahomet, who neither begetteth nor is begotten, but is *holosphyros*, as if you should say, *solid*, or *all of a piece*; for so the Greeks rendered the Arabic word *Elsemed*, which is one of the names of God, according to the Mahometans. The emperor called his bishops together, and proposed to strike out this anathema, which scandalized such Mahometans as were else disposed towards Christianity, and could not bear to make use of curses pronounced against God, on any pretence whatsoever. The bishops at first would not part with the anathema, and rejected the emperor's proposal. However, at length, with much reluctance, they consented to leave it out, and instead of it to say, Anathema to Mahomet, to his doctrines, and to his sect^h.

A. 1181. The pope's legate marched with a great army against the Albigenses, whom he called Manichæans.

Lucius III. was elected pope by the cardinals, who now assumed that right to themselvesⁱ.

A. 1182. Philip of France hated the Jews, and suspected them to be guilty of crucifying Christian children, and of other crimes; and therefore expelled them from his dominions.

'I find not till now,' says Fleury, 'accusations of this kind brought against the Jews; but afterwards they were frequent. The Jews affirmed that they were calumnies. But WHY should the Christians have forged them more at this time than at any other, if there had not been some foundation for them?'

There seems to be no great weight in Fleury's WHY. Many Christians of those times would not scruple to tell any lies, especially where religion was concerned. Thus they confidently affirmed that miracles were wrought at the tombs of these crucified children.

⁵ Fleury, xv. 474.

^h Ibid. 487.

ⁱ Ibid. 498.

Several heretics, called Manichæans, were burnt in Flanders.

The Greeks massacred all the Latins whom they found in Constantinople, except about four thousand, whom they sold for slaves to the Turks. The Latins repaid the Greeks in the same manner^k.

A. 1185. The Sicilians took Thessalonica, and there committed all kind of cruelties, sacrileges, and impieties. The archbishop of that city was very serviceable to his flock in this grievous calamity. He was the learned Eustathius, well known by his Commentary on Homer. He might have retired before the siege, but he chose to stay with his people to comfort them; and, after the city was taken, he often visited the counts who commanded the Sicilian troops, to soften them, and excite them to compassion. They showed him respect, arose to receive him, heard him patiently, and had some regard to his entreaties^l.

A. 1186. Some Livonians were converted, and a church was founded in their country.

The Templars, by their perfidies, perjuries, and ravages, provoked Saladin, who on that account waged war with the Christians, beat them at the battle of Tiberias, slew all the Templars that fell into his hands, took Jerusalem, and treated its inhabitants with much generosity and humanity. Thus Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Mahometans, after having been in those of the Latin Christians eighty-eight years. And now the Latins had only Antioch, Tyre, and Tripoly left in their possession^m.

A. 1188. A croisade was undertaken; and the pope's legate went as a sort of generalissimo.

There was a massacre of the Jews in England, recorded by our historians.

A. 1191. Celestin III. being made pope, was seated in the *stone chair*, which was even then called *stercoraria*, because it had a hole in the seat, resembling a close-stool. But the hole is small; and antiquaries are of opinion that it had been a chair used in some bath, with an opening to let the water drain off.

^k Fleury, xv. 506.

^m Fleury, xv. 552.

^l Ibid. 540. Cave, ii. 240.

This modest pope crowned the emperor Henry VI; and holding the imperial crown first between his feet, he kicked it to the floor, to show that he had power to depose as well as to make emperorsⁿ.

‘In the cloister of St. John of Lateran there are three chairs, one of white marble, and two of porphyry. The two latter are pierced, the first is not. They were called *stercorariæ*, and they used to make the new popes sit down in them, to fulfil the words of Scripture; *Suscitat de pulvere egenum, et de stercore erigit pauperem*. Mabillon thinks that they had at first been used in baths; and that the beauty of the marble caused them to be employed in this ceremony; and that being in the porch of St. John of Lateran, they were called *stercorariæ*, on account of the obscure and neglected place where they stood, and also by way of allusion to the words of the psalm which the pope used to chant when he sat upon them. Others took them to be close-stools; and on that account fit for the pope to sit upon, when he said *de stercore*, &c. It is not known when this religious use of them commenced. No author hath spoken of it before the twelfth century; that is, according to Mabillon, a hundred years before mention was made of the story of pope Joan, of which he supposes Martinus Polonus to have been the first relater. After which, it being reported that they used these chairs to examine the sex of the new made pope, the ceremony became so infamous that it was abolished^o.’

‘There was a statue of Joan, whilst the story about her was believed; and it stood amongst those of the popes in a church of Siena. But under the pontificate of Clemens VIII. they altered the features of her face into those of a man, and put underneath it the name of Zacharias, thus transforming a *popess* into a *pope*^p.’

Acre was taken by the croisez; and the order of Teutonic knights was established^q.

A. 1198. ‘Since the twelfth century, the Greeks sunk in ignorance, took it into their heads to erase the writings of old parchment manuscripts, and to write ecclesiastical

ⁿ Fleury, xv. 600.

^o Mabillon, Bibl. Univ. vii. 150.

^p Bibl. Univ. vii. 160.

^q Fleury, xv. 602.

tical treatises in them; and thus, to the unspeakable detriment of the republic of letters, such authors as Polybius, Dio, Diodorus Siculus, and some others who are quite lost, were metamorphosed into prayer-books and homilies. After an exact search, I can affirm that of the books written on parchment since that century, I have found the greater number to be such as had the first writing upon them scratched out. But as all these copyists were not equally dexterous in effacing and cleaning these manuscripts, I have seen some in which a part at least of the former writing might be read^r.

Celestin III. died, and Innocent III. was chosen in his room, being only thirty-seven years of age: and here end the Annals of Baronius.

Some heretics, called Manichæans, and also the Waldenses, were persecuted in France.

The order of the Holy Trinity, or of the Trinitarians, for the redemption of captives, was instituted, and was confirmed by the pope^s.

The *Annales Ordinis SS. Trinitatis*, written by a Franciscan, abound with wonderful wonders wrought in support of the order.

These were happy times, when miracles cost nothing besides the easy labour of inventing them. Were the monks and nuns destitute of food? They sat down to table, and angels, in the form of pretty girls, brought them dishes of savoury meat. Did they want to go a voyage by sea? Ships were at hand, which spontaneously carried them to the desired harbour. Were they travelling by land, and did they want to sit down and rest themselves? Rocks were instantly turned into soft elbow-chairs. Was it time to say mass? The bells tolled of their own accord, &c.

There was at Paris a feast observed in the cathedral on the first of January, called *the festival of fools*, in which all sorts of absurdities and indecencies were committed. This holiday was put down, or, rather, was suspended only for a time; for it lasted till two hundred and forty years after.

^r Montfaucon, Mem. de l'Acad. ix. 325.

^s Fleury, xiv. 16. Mosheim, p. 515. Bibl. Univ. ii :

The insolent pope Innocent III, in a most saucy and impertinent letter, threatened to excommunicate the emperor of Constantinople and all the Greek church, if they would not submit to his supreme authority, temporal and spiritual. What a blockhead was he, to think that his excommunications would terrify the Greeks, already alienated from the Latins and from the popes!

He showed favour to the Jews, forbidding to compel them to receive baptism, and to take their goods by violence, to disturb them in the celebration of their festivals, to exact from them new services, to deprive them of their burying-grounds, or to dig up their bodies^t.

Mosheim^u hath given a full and just account of the tyranny, usurpation, and wickedness of the popes and their legates in this century. The princes endeavoured to restrain some of these encroachments; and Louis IX, called Saint Louis, secured, as far as the times would permit, the privileges of the Gallican church by the *Pragmatic Sanction*.

A. 1199. Some heretics were hanged, some beheaded, and some burnt in Italy^x.

In this century, in Germany, persons even of the highest rank, if they had behaved unfaithfully to the emperor, were condemned, according to an old custom, to carry a dog about upon their shoulders; that this animal, who is a symbol of fidelity, might upbraid them for the want of it^y.

So many things concurred to disgrace and corrupt religion, that it is matter of wonder to find even the slenderest traces of it remaining. The Roman pontiffs would suffer nothing to be taught which opposed their insolent government; and required that religion should be modelled in such a form and manner, as to be subservient to that plan which their predecessors had contrived. Whosoever would not comply with their will, and presumed to prefer the holy Scriptures to their decrees, was immediately cut off by fire or sword. Then the priests and monks, perceiving that it was their interest to keep the people in profound ignorance, amused them with frivolous and pompous ceremonies; and made piety to consist in silly rites, bodily

^t Fleury, xvi. 16.

^u P. 506.

^x Fleury, xvi. 56.

^y Spener, Hist. Germ.

macérations, and a profound veneration for the sacred order. The scholastic doctors considered the dictates of the **an-**tients, dressed up in a logical form, as the only sacred truths; and, instead of explaining the word of God, divided and subdivided religion into incoherent scraps. In opposition to them, the Mystics, excluding human liberty, ascribed all pious dispositions to a divine impulse; and, instead of setting bounds to reason, absolutely discarded it.

‘ Hence an incredible superstition and ignorance supplied the place of religion amongst the people. They put their trust, not in prayers to God, and in the merits and **intercession** of Christ, but in **reliques**; for the most part fictitious, and, at the best, uncertain. Whosoever could build a church at **his own expense**, or largely contribute to repair and adorn it, was accounted a happy creature, and high in the favour of God. He who through poverty could **not** perform such exploits, submitted to the functions of a beast of burthen, in carrying stones, and drawing a cart, for the use of a sacred edifice, and expected **eternal life** as a reward for these voluntary labours. Religious invocation was much more directed to the saints and to the court of heaven than to God, or to our Saviour; and in those days no curious questions were started, as they were in later times, in what manner the saints above could be supposed to hear and regard the supplications of men upon earth; for, before the scholastics had begun their subtle speculations upon this subject, it had been an old opinion, which the Christians borrowed from the Pagans, that celestial spirits descended from their mansions, and delighted to be in the places which they had frequented when they dwelt here. If any knave or lunatic, male or female, boasted of divine revelations, they were received as the oracles of God, as it appears from the examples of two celebrated German prophetesses, St. Hildegardis and St. Elizabeth.

‘ The rulers of the church took a mean advantage of the bigotry and stupidity of the people, to squeeze money out of them, and to enrich themselves; and every religious order had tricks of its own to carry on this pillaging trade. The bishops, whenever they wanted large sums, either for pious or for wicked uses, gave sinners leave to purchase at

certain rates a remission of the punishment which they had incurred ; that is, they granted indulgences : and it is well known what great undertakings were accomplished in these ages by the profits arising from the indulgences. The abbots and the monks, to whom it was not permitted to exercise this privilege, found out another device to get wealth. They used to carry about in solemn procession the carcasses and reliques of the saints from place to place ; and whosoever wanted to see, or to handle, or to kiss these rarities, was obliged to purchase this honour and felicity by a handsome present. As large a profit was sometimes made by this craft as even by episcopal indulgences.

‘ The Roman pontiffs, perceiving how lucrative the grant of indulgences was to the inferior prelates, projected to restrain this episcopal privilege within narrower bounds, and to take the trade into their own hands. They therefore granted not only common and public indulgences, but perfect, absolute, and *plenary* remission of all temporal and finite pains and penalties, as often as the necessities of the church, or their own interest required ; nor did they only remit those penances and corrections which the laws divine and human inflicted, but also those which were to be undergone in the intermediate state of purgatory ; which was more than the bishops had presumed to do. At first they exercised this prerogative sparingly, and only for the carrying on the holy wars ; but afterwards they granted such favours profusely, on various and lesser occasions, and for the sake of lucre. By the introduction of this new right, the ancient canonical and ecclesiastical penitence fell to nothing ; and the penitential canons and directories being laid aside, an unbounded license of sinning was allowed. And that the papal usurpations might not want a proper support, a doctrine unheard of before was invented in this age, which in the following century was polished and perfected by Thomas Aquinas ; namely, that there is an immense and inexhaustible treasure of works of supererogation performed by the saints ; that the guardian and dispenser of this treasure is the Roman pontiff ; that out of this plentiful stock he can transfer and assign to every man such a portion as his spiritual wants may require, and as shall suffice to secure him from the punishment due to his offences.

It is a deplorable thing that a device, so mean, so sordid, so infamous, and so noxious, should still be retained and defended.

‘The principal professors of theology dwelt at Paris, but divided into different sects. The first sort were the *theologi veteres*, who adhered to the old divinity, and established sacred doctrines on passages of the Scriptures, testimonies of the fathers, and decrees of councils, and rarely added any thing of human wisdom or science. Such were Bernard and others. There was not a wide difference between these doctors and those who were afterwards called *positivi* and *sententiarii*: for the latter supported their theological tenets principally by the testimony of the Scriptures and of the antient doctors; but yet they had recourse also to reasoning and to philosophy, especially when difficulties were to be removed, and adversaries were to be confuted; and herein some were more cautious and moderate than others. The most eminent of these was Petrus Lombardus, whose four books of *Sentences*, which were made public A. 1162, suddenly acquired such authority, that the doctors took them as a text, to be explained by their comments. At the same time another and a far bolder sect of teachers arose, who presumed to interpret the sacred doctrines by logical terms and distinctions, and to reduce them to the rules of the dialectic art. The author of this method of teaching divinity, which was afterwards called *scholastic*, because it was generally adopted in the schools, was Peter Abelard, a man of a most subtle genius; and great multitudes in France, in England, and in Italy, incited by his example, and desirous of acquiring the same honour, became his followers and imitators. By these studies the mild and peaceable religion of Christ was suddenly turned into the art of quibbling and wrangling. For these men illustrated and explained nothing, but obscured the clearest truths by distinctions and by subdivisions into scraps and fragments; wearied themselves and others with frivolous and abstruse questions; disputed both for and against the most important points; and because logical terms were not to be found applicable to all parts of religion, they had recourse to new ones, and ran into the most intricate and perplexing trifles^a.’

^a Mosheim, p. 469.

Discourse on Ecclesiastical History, by Fleury.

‘THEY who have perused with any attention my foregoing volumes, have doubtless observed a wide difference between the discipline of the first ten centuries and of those which followed. It was indeed much enfeebled in the tenth century; but that was owing to ignorance, or to such transgressions as stood condemned at the first view. Still it was acknowledged that the canons and the antient tradition were to be followed. It is only since the twelfth century that they began to build upon new foundations, and to follow maxims unknown to antiquity. But even then they thought to follow it, whilst they were departing from it. The evil came from an error in fact, from taking that to be antient which was novel; for in general it hath been always taught in the church that it was necessary to adhere to the tradition of the first ages, for discipline as well as for doctrine. I have already spoken of the false *Decretals* ascribed to the popes of the three first ages, which are found in the Collection of Isidorus, and which made their appearance at the end of the eighth century; and I have mentioned the proofs which demonstrate them to be spurious. Here is the source of all the evil: an ignorance of history and criticism caused these *Decretals* to be received; and the new maxims contained in them to be admitted as the doctrine of the purest antiquity. A presbyter of Constance, who wrote towards the end of the eleventh century, says, on the authority of these *Decretals*, that according to the discipline of the apostles and their successors, bishops ought never or very rarely to be accused, and yet acknowledges that this discipline agrees not with the Nicene council; and owning likewise that this council forbade the translations of bishops, he opposeth to it the authority of the popes Evaristus, Callistus, and Anteros, more antient than that council, who permitted such translations.

‘After the Roman church had groaned a hundred-and-fifty years together under many worthless popes who profaned the holy see, God took pity on this primary church, and gave her Leo IX, whose virtues have placed him among the saints; and who had for successors in the rest

of the eleventh century, and in the twelfth, several popes virtuous, and zealous for the re-establishment of discipline, as Gregory VII, Urban II, Paschal II, Eugenius III, and Alexander III. But the most upright intentions, destitute of knowledge produce great faults; and the faster one runs in the dark, the more frequent and dangerous are the falls. These great popes, finding the authority of the Decretals so established that none ever thought to contest them, imagined themselves obliged in conscience to support the maxims therein contained as the pure discipline of the apostolical times, and of the golden age of Christianity. But they did not discern that they contained many maxims directly contrary to those of venerable antiquity.

‘In these false Decretals it is declared unlawful to hold a council without the order, or at least the permission, of the pope. Have you seen any thing like this in the history, I say not of the three first ages of Christianity, but down to the ninth? I know that the authority of popes was always necessary for general councils: and thus is to be understood the saying of the historian Socrates, that there is a canon forbidding the churches to make any rule without the consent of the bishop of Rome; and the remark of Sozomen, that the care of all the churches belongs to him, on account of the dignity of his see. But as to provincial and ordinary councils, the Roman correctors of Gratian’s Decree have acknowledged that the authority of the pope is not necessary. In fact, is there the least trace of a permission or consent of the pope, in all the councils mentioned by Tertullian, Cyprian, and Eusebius, either as to the celebration of Easter, or the re-admission of penitents, or the baptism of heretics? Was any mention made of the pope in the three great councils of Alexandria, which were convened on the affair of Arius, before the Nicene council? Was there any mention of him in the council of Constantinople, called by the emperor Theodosius in 381? And yet pope Damasus and all the West consented to its decisions; insomuch that it is counted the second œcumenic council. Not to mention so many national councils held in France, principally under the kings of the second race, and in Spain under the Gothic kings. When the Nicene fathers ordered that two councils should be held annually in each province, did they suppose

that a message was to be sent to Rome to ask leave? How could such application be perpetually made from the extremities of Asia and of Africa? The holding of provincial councils was counted amongst the ordinary practices of religion, just as the celebration of the eucharist on Sundays. It was only the violence of persecutions which interrupted the course of it; and as soon as the bishops found themselves at liberty, they returned to it, as to the most efficacious way of keeping up proper discipline. Yet, in consequence of this new maxim, scarcely were any councils held after the twelfth century in which the legates of the pope did not preside; and then the custom of calling them together insensibly declined and was dropped.

‘ In the Decretals it is said that the bishops can be judged definitively by the pope alone; and this maxim is frequently repeated. You have met with a hundred instances to the contrary. To mention only the more remarkable, Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, the first see of St. Peter, and the third city of the Roman empire, was judged and deposed by the bishops of the East and of the neighbouring provinces, without the participation of the pope, to whom they thought it sufficient to notify the thing after it was done, as it appears from their synodical letter; and the pope made no complaint about it. Nothing is more frequent in the first nine ages than accusations and depositions of bishops; but this was performed in provincial councils, the usual tribunals in all causes ecclesiastical. He must be totally ignorant of the history of the church, who can imagine that no bishop at any time, or in any place, could be judged, without sending him to Rome, or obtaining a commission from the pope.

‘ And indeed, without consulting facts, a small degree of common sense will show that the thing was impracticable. As early as in the fourth century there was a prodigious number of churches in Greece, in Asia, in Syria, in Ægypt, and in Afric, besides those in the western world. Most of the bishops were poor, and incapable of taking long journeys; and the emperors used to defray their charges when they came to general councils. How was it possible to bring them up to Rome, and not them only, but their accusers, and the witnesses, men usually still poorer than they? Yet

this is what the author of the Decretals was obliged to suppose; and the absurdity of it appeared evidently when the popes attempted to put it in practice. Gregory VII, for example, believing himself the sole competent judge over all the bishops, used daily to summon them from the remotest parts of Germany, France, or England. They were obliged to quit their churches for years together, to travel to Rome at vast expense, to go and defend themselves against accusers who often failed to appear. Delays after delays were obtained; the pope gave commissions for receiving informations at the place itself; and thus, after many voyages, and a tedious process, he pronounced a definitive sentence, against which appeals were made under the next pontificate. Often the cited bishop did not come to Rome, either on account of sickness, or of poverty, or of some other impediment, or because he knew himself to be guilty. And if the pope deposed him, and appointed another in his place, he defended himself sword in hand. Of this you have seen examples; and such are the inconveniences of attempting what never was and never can be practicable.

‘ True it is, that on a few extraordinary occasions of a manifest oppression and a crying iniquity, the bishops condemned by their councils might have recourse to the pope, as to the superior over all bishops, and the conservator of the canons; and such is the appointment of the council of Sardica. But then it requires that the pope, whether he appoint a legate or not, shall have the cause judged at the place itself, since it is easy to impose upon a remote judge. On this St. Cyprian insists, speaking of Basilides, a Spanish bishop, who, being deposed in his own province, had, by disguising the truth, obtained from pope Stephen letters commanding that he should be restored, to which the African council paid no regard at all. And some years before this, the same Cyprian, writing to pope Cornelius concerning Fortunatus the Schismatic, useth these remarkable words:

“ It is a settled rule amongst us, that every offender be examined in the place where the offence was committed. It is not fit that they who are subject to our jurisdiction should run about here and there, to sow dissension amongst

the bishops. Let them plead the cause where accusers and witnesses are to be had."

' Thus he speaks to the pope himself, to whom Fortunatus had carried his complaints. After all, this recourse to the pope, permitted by the council of Sardica, related principally to extraordinary affairs, and to the bishops of the most eminent sees, such as Athanasius, Chrysostom, and Flavian of Constantinople, who had no other superior to whom they could appeal.

' The Decretals have also ascribed to the pope alone the power of translating bishops from one see to another. Yet the council of Sardica and other councils, which have most strictly forbidden all translations, have made no exceptions in favour of the pope; and when in a few instances a translation was allowed for the manifest service of the church, it was done by the authority of the metropolitan and the council of the province. So far was the pope from authorizing translations, that the church of Rome was a most exact observer of the canons which prohibited it. For nine hundred years we find no bishop translated to the see of Rome. Formosus was the first; and this was made one of the pretexts for digging up his body after his death. But since the Decretals obtained force, translations were frequent in the West, where they had before been unknown, and the popes only condemned them when they were practised without their authority; as it appears from the Letters of Innocent III.

' The same may be observed concerning the erection of new sees. According to the Decretals, this belongs to the pope alone; but according to the antient discipline it belonged to the council of the province, and there is an express canon for it in the African councils. And certainly, to consider only the advancement of religion and the public utility, it was far more reasonable to refer it to the bishops of the country, to judge what cities stood in need of new bishoprics, and to choose proper persons to fill them, than to refer it to a pope residing so far off, and so incapable of forming a right judgment. In vain are his commissaries appointed to inquire into these things: such procedures are not to be compared with ocular inspection and experimental knowledge. Accordingly, when St Augustin

erected a new see in his own country, he sent not to Rome about it, he only consulted the primate of Numidia; and if the pope were acquainted with it, it was only on occasion of the personal faults of Antony, the appointed bishop; and he made no complaint that the see had been erected without his participation. St. Remigius had not recourse to the pope, when he erected the bishopric of Laon: he did it, says Hincmar, by the authority of the African council, that is, of the canon which we have mentioned. And the reason is, that the Decretals which invest the pope with this privilege were not as yet fabricated.

‘As to the consolidation or suppression of bishoprics, I see no other grounds to attribute them to the pope alone, except some procedures of St. Gregory reported by Gratian. But Gratian did not discern that Gregory acted thus only in the southern parts of Italy, of which Rome was the metropolis, or in Sicily, and other islands, which depended particularly on the holy see.

‘In the first ages metropolitan cities were few, in proportion to the number of bishoprics, that the councils might consist of the more members; for the principal function of the metropolitans was to preside in them. But after the popes possessed the power of appointing them, they created a great number, chiefly in Italy, without any occasion for it, and purely to show honour to certain cities. The Nicene council, which doubtless had a right to grant new prerogatives of this kind, says simply that the privileges of churches shall be preserved to them, according to antient custom; which shows that the distinction of metropolitan and patriarchal churches was already settled by long possession. The popes since the eleventh century have not only made metropolitans, but patriarchs, and primates, all upon the authority of the Decretals; namely, of the first letter attributed to St. Clemens, and of the second and third of pope Anaclet, wherein it is said that the apostles and their successors established patriarchs and primates in those cities, where the temporal government had placed the principal magistrates, and where the Pagans had their *archiflamines*, a barbarous word, which is to be found only in the Decretals. You have seen that, in the first ages, even the title of archbishop was unknown: they were called

only bishops of Rome and of Alexandria, as well as of the smallest city ; and the bishops in their letters treated each other as brethren, with a perfect equality, as it appears from the inscriptions of the Letters of Cyprian. As charity declined, titles and ceremonies increased. The bishop of Alexandria, as it is supposed, was the first who took the name of archbishop ; the bishop of Antioch that of patriarch ; and the name of primate was peculiar to Afric. But this was more than the forger of the Decretals knew ; and he hath not mentioned the title of exarch, so famous in Asia.

‘ Yet it was upon the credit of this author that Gregory VII. established, or rather confirmed, the primacy of Lyon, since in his bull he cites the words of the Decretal of Anaclet. On the same foundation other popes have presumed to erect so many primacies in France, in Spain, and elsewhere ; supposing them to have been antient, by an error in fact. These new establishments being contrary to antient possessions have produced most violent contests. You have seen with what vigour the French prelates rejected the primacy which John VIII. gave to the archbishop of Sens : you have seen how they afterwards opposed that of Lyon, which long possession hath at last established ; and how the bishops of Spain opposed that of Toledo, and of Brague, which have never been well authorized. We must not then imagine that a bull given without knowledge of the cause, like that of Callistus II. for the primacy of Vienne, sufficeth to overset at once the antient state of churches, in defiance to the parties concerned.

‘ One of the deepest wounds that the Decretals gave to ecclesiastical discipline, was the boundless extending of the appeals to the pope. It appears that the forger had this article greatly at heart, by the care that he hath taken to spread quite through his work the maxim, that not only every bishop, but every priest, and in general every person who finds himself aggrieved, may upon every occasion appeal directly to the pope. He introduceth no less than nine popes confirming this doctrine, Anaclet, Sixtus I. and II, Fabian, Cornelius, Victor, Zephyrinus, Marcellus, and Julius. Yet St. Cyprian, who lived in the time of Fabian, and Cornelius, not only opposed such appeals, but

gave solid reasons for his opposition; and in the time of St. Augustin, the African church did not as yet permit them, as it appears from a letter of a council^b to pope Cælestinus. Lastly, until the ninth century we find few examples of these appeals, by virtue of the council of Sardica, unless, as I said before, by some bishops of eminent sees, who had no other superior than the pope.

‘ But after the Decretals got into vogue, appeals were perpetual throughout the Latin church. Hincmar, better skilled than others in the knowledge of the antient discipline, vigorously opposed this innovation; maintaining that the remedy ought, at the furthest, to be granted only to bishops, and not to priests. You have seen afterwards the complaints of Ivo and of St. Bernard against this abuse, which in their days was got to the height. They showed that the liberty of appealing to the pope, in all matters, entirely enervated the old discipline; that wicked priests, and other refractory sinners, had by it a sure way to elude, or at least to delay correction; that the pope was often ill-informed, and obliged to retract the judgments which he had rashly pronounced; lastly, that the prelates, wearied out with the length of vexatious procedures, the expense and the fatigue of voyages, and many other difficulties, desponded and connived at disorders which they could not rectify. Even the popes found themselves at last incommoded by this liberty of appealing to them, which often retarded the execution of their own orders; and thence arose the clause, *Notwithstanding all appeals*, which became the style of their bulls. If St. Bernard exerted himself with such vigour against this abuse, whilst he yet supposed that the doctrine of appeals must be admitted, what would he have said if he had known that it was a mere innovation, founded upon forged records? How much more strongly would he have inveighed against that multiplicity of affairs with which the popes were encumbered and oppressed? He knew that, according to the evangelical maxims, a bishop, and a successor of the apostles, ought to be disengaged from things temporal, to attend to prayer, and to the instruction of his flock. But the tyranny of custom restrained him; and

^b A. 426.

for want of a knowledge of antiquity, and of the steps by which the popes had been led into this busy situation, he did not dare to speak out roundly, and advise Eugenius to return to the simplicity of the first ages. And yet the description which Bernard hath given us of the court of Rome, shows how this imaginary right, founded on the Decretals, had hurt the holy see, under the pretence of extending its jurisdiction. For he represents the consistory of the cardinals as a parliament, and a sovereign tribunal, occupied in judging causes from morning till night; and the pope, who presided, as so encumbered with affairs, that he had scarcely breathing-time. The court was full of solicitors, pleaders, counsellors, self-interested, passionate, disingenuous men, seeking only to over-reach their antagonists, and to grow rich by fleecing others. The same idea is suggested to us by the history of the popes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and by their letters, particularly those of Innocent III, which contain an astonishing detail of the affairs of all Christendom. These letters alone must have been an immense occupation: for though the pope might not have been the composer of them himself, he must have had an account of their contents laid before him, and have taken cognizance at least of the more important causes. And how shall a pope so occupied find time for prayer, for studying the Scriptures, for preaching, for other essential duties of episcopacy? I speak not now of the cares resulting from his own dominions, as he was a temporal prince: I shall consider them hereafter.

‘I see plainly that by thus extending the authority of the pope, they thought to procure him signal advantages, and make his primacy more important. They must then have been absolute strangers to ecclesiastical history, or they must have supposed that the most eminent popes, as St. Leo and St. Gregory, neglected their rights, and suffered their dignity to be debased: for it is a matter of fact, that they never exercised the authority set forth in the Decretals. Let us enter a little further into this subject. These popes, had they not good reason for acting as they did? Had they not sublimer thoughts, and a more perfect knowledge of religion than Gregory VII. and Innocent III.? Vulgar minds seek only their own interest: philosophical minds,

extending their views much further, discern by the mere light of nature and reason, that in every society the interest of individuals, and even of the rulers, ought to yield to the interest of the community. Surely it is unlawful to imagine that Jesus Christ should establish his church upon maxims less pure and noble than those of Pagan philosophers: and indeed to those who faithfully govern his flock he hath promised no temporal emoluments, but only an eternal reward proportionable to their charity. Let us then frankly acknowledge, that the popes of the five or six first ages had reason to consider the utility of the Catholic church preferably to any apparent advantage to their own persons, or to their own see. Let us own that the interest of the church required that all affairs should be judged upon the spot by those who could settle them with more knowledge and facility; that the bishops, and particularly their head, should be diverted as little as possible from their spiritual and essential functions; and that each of them should remain settled in the church where God's providence had placed him, ever applying himself to instruct and sanctify his people. To these solid blessings can any one pretend to compare the melancholy advantage of making a pope formidable all the world over, and of attracting to Rome a crowd of bishops and clergymen from every quarter, some through the fear of censures, others by the hope of favours?

‘I am sensible that this resort of prelates, and of other strangers, whom various interests drew to Rome, brought thither great riches, and that the people of that city grew fat at the expense of the rest of the world; but I am ashamed to mention a profit of this kind where Christianity is concerned. Was the pope established at Rome to enrich it, or to sanctify it? And St. Gregory, did he not perform the office of a common parent, when he poured out so liberally, by his alms extended through all the provinces, the immense revenues of the Roman church? But the popes who enriched Rome did not sanctify Rome; they seemed to have even despaired of the possibility of it, according to the hideous portrait which St. Bernard draws of the Romans of his time. Yet it was the first duty of the pope, as of their bishop, to labour their conversion; and he was

much more obliged to this than to sit in judgment upon so many foreign causes.

‘Gratian’s Decree’ gave the finishing stroke to establish the authority of the Decretals, which are cited and dispersed throughout his book. For more than three centuries no other canons were known than those contained in this compilation; and no other were followed in the schools, and in the tribunals. Gratian had gone even beyond the Decretals in stretching the pope’s power, maintaining that he was not subject to the canons, which he says of his own head, without proof or voucher. Thus arose in the Latin church a confused notion that the papal power had no bounds; and from this principle, taken for granted, many consequences have been deduced beyond the articles precisely expressed in the Decretals; and the new theologers have not sufficiently distinguished these maxims from the essentials of the Catholic faith, concerning the primacy of the pope, and the antient rules of discipline.

‘Besides the things which regard the pope, Gratian hath inserted in his Decree new maxims respecting the immunities of the clergy, affirming that they cannot be judged by laymen in any case whatsoever; to prove which he cites many passages from the Decretals, and a pretended law of Theodosius, adopted by Charlemain, to stretch beyond measure the jurisdiction of bishops. To this he adds a curtailed paragraph from one of the *Novellæ* of Justinian, which, if the whole had been produced, would have proved directly the contrary. Yet this imperial constitution thus mangled was the principal pretext on which St. Thomas of Canterbury (Becket) resisted the king of England with that firmness which brought upon him first persecution, and then martyrdom. The maxim was false in fact; but it passed for true amongst the most eminent casuists.

‘These instances are sensible proofs of the importance of *criticism*, which speculative and indolent scholastics treat with contempt, as a childish amusement and a vain curiosity. To learn divers languages so as to know them accurately; to weigh every word so as to find out its proper signification, and even its etymology; to observe the diver-

‘ See Cave, ii. 215.

sity of styles in the same language, according to times and places; to examine the histories of each nation, trusting only to originals; to read them with an attention principally to morals; to join to this the study of geography and of chronology; these are the foundations of criticism. It is, I confess, a work long and laborious, but necessary, in order to ascertain the truth of facts. Facts are not to be discovered by mere syllogizing; and yet on these facts often depends the conduct of life. You have seen what inconveniences arose from a belief of forged records. Thence came a facility of receiving all sorts of narrations, for want of proper rules to distinguish them; thence so many fabulous legends, so many false miracles, so many frivolous visions and idle reports; as we see, not to mention any more, in the Dialogues of Cæsarius the Monk.

‘The maxims contained in Gratian concerning the immunities of the clergy, are the ground of an answer given by Innocent III, at the beginning of his pontificate, to the emperor of Constantinople, whence hath been extracted a famous decretal. In this letter the pope gives forced interpretations to a passage of St. Peter, which was alleged by the emperor to prove that all Christians, without exception, ought to be subject to the temporal powers. The apostle, says the pope, spake thus to excite the faithful to humility. The king indeed is sovereign, but only over those who receive from him things temporal, that is to say, over the laity. As if the church had not received all her temporalities from the secular power! The pope adds, that the prince hath not received the power of the sword over all evil-doers, but only over those who, using the sword themselves, are subject to his jurisdiction. By this he means only laymen, that so he might procure for criminal clergymen an exemption from temporal punishment, or an immunity. He says, that no one ought to judge another’s servant, supposing that the clergy are not servants to the prince. Then he produces the allegory of the two great lights which God hath placed in heaven, to represent, says he, the two great dignities, the pontifical and the regal. As if in a serious debate it were allowable to advance allegorical whimsies, to deny which is to confute them! Thus they eluded the plainest authorities of the

holy Scriptures, to support prejudices drawn from the Decretals.

‘ Now Innocent could not have addressed himself to a worse person for his purpose than to a Greek emperor, when he advanced these maxims unknown to antiquity. The Latin princes, for the most part so ignorant that they could not even read, took for granted upon these points all that was told them by the clergy, who were their counsellors ; and these clerks had all studied in the same schools, and drawn from the same source, from the Decree of Gratian. Amongst the Greeks, all men of any rank, both clergy and laity, were men of letters : they consulted original records, the scriptures, the fathers, and the antient councils. They knew nothing of the spurious Decretals coined in the West, and written in Latin. Accordingly, they had preserved the old discipline in all the points which I have marked out. You have seen that all their bishops, and even their patriarchs, were judged, and often deposed in their councils ; and that they did not ask leave of the pope to assemble ; and that there lay no appeal to him from their decisions. They did not apply to him for the translations of bishops, or for the erection of new sees ; they followed the canons contained in the antient code of the Greek church. I say not that this church was clear of all abuses ; I have pointed out several on diverse occasions ; and I know that the patriarchs of Constantinople, by the favour of the emperors, had claimed an exorbitant authority, and had encroached much on the ecclesiastical power : but still the old formalities were externally kept up, and the canons were known and revered.

‘ You will say, perhaps, It is no wonder that the Greeks did not address themselves to the pope, either for appeals or for any thing else, since from the time of Photius they did not acknowledge him as head of the church. But did they appeal to him before ? And even in the times when they were most united with the Roman church, did they observe any part of that which I now call the new discipline ? Not they, indeed ; since even the Latins did not observe it, and these regulations were unknown to the whole church. And here it may be remarked by the way, that the schism of the Greeks is not so antient as it is com-

monly believed. I will clear up this in another Discourse. In the mean time let me just mention that it was hardly formed before the taking of Constantinople by the Latins. Besides, I see not that in the disputes which we have had with the Greeks since the time of Leo IX, and of Michael Cerularius, we have reproached them for holding councils without the permission of the pope, and for other points which we have been discussing. Nor do I find that Gregory VII. and his successors ever cited the Greek bishops to Rome, and treated them as they did the Latins. They knew well enough that such commands would not have been regarded.

‘Leo IX, and the popes who undertook to repair the ruins of the tenth century, and to restore the Roman church to its lustre, laboured also to re-establish its temporal power, which they founded first on the Donation of Constantine, and then on those of Pepin, Charlemain, Louis the Debonaire, and Otho. All the world knows now what the Donation of Constantine is; and the falsehood of it is even more generally acknowledged than that of the Decretals. But in the days of those popes its genuineness was not called in doubt. St. Bernard took it for granted, when he told Eugenius that he was not only the successor of St. Peter, but of Constantine. It was known and received even in the ninth century; and it was not till the middle of the fifteenth that the forgery began to be discerned. Even the Greeks admitted it, as it appears from Theodorus Balsamon, who cites it all, and pretends to ground upon it the prerogatives of the see of Constantinople.

‘Gothofred of Viterbo, in his Abridged History dedicated to Urban III, speaking of Constantine’s Donation, says, that, in the opinion of many persons, the church had been more holy in the three first ages, but more happy in the following times. Whosoever was the author of this fine sentence, he had very mean and sordid sentiments, and far beneath not only the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but even human philosophy, a small share of which might teach a man that the happiness of life consisteth in virtue, and not in wealth. But one who pretends to be a Christian cannot form a doubt of it. Jesus Christ hath explained himself sufficiently on this subject by his doctrine and by his ex-

ample; since, being Lord of all worldly possessions, he supremely despised them, and bequeathed, as a portion to his disciples, poverty and sufferings. I return then again to the question, whether discoveries were made in the eleventh century of a wisdom unknown before, and whether Leo IX. and Grègory VII. were more illuminated than St. Leo and St. Gregory?

‘These eminent pontiffs had not searched their archives enough to find in them the Donation of Constantine. They were neither sovereign princes nor temporal lords; and yet they did not complain that their power was too much cramped. They had no superfluous time upon their hands after the performance of their spiritual duty. They were persuaded of the distinction between the two powers, which pope Gelasius hath well set forth, when he says that even emperors were subject to bishops in the religious order; and that in the political order the bishops, not excepting the possessor of the first see, were obliged to obey the laws of the emperors.

‘Not that it is unlawful for ecclesiastics, as well as for laics, to possess things temporal. You have seen that in the earliest ages, under Pagan emperors, the churches had their immoveables; and their bishops had a property in all kind of goods, and even in slaves. Hence it follows, that they might also possess seignories, when, by the weakness of sovereigns, and a defect in politics, jurisdictions became patrimonial, and the public power a property of particulars. For under the Roman empire nothing of this kind was known, and there was no lord except the sovereign. But after lordships were annexed to certain lands, they who gave such lands to the church gave the seignories also; and so bishops became counts, dukes, and princes, as they are still in Germany. And thus, directly against the primitive institution, even monks, whose humility had placed them the lowest of mankind, had their subjects and their vassals; and their abbots acquired the rank of lords and princes. All these rights are indeed legal; nor ought they to be contested more with the church than with the state: and to return to the Roman church, it would be unjust to dispute her sovereignty of Rome, and of a great part of Italy, which she hath possessed for so many ages, since

most of the sovereign princes have no better title to produce than a long possession.

‘There was reason therefore to condemn Arnauld of Bresse, who stirred up the Romans to rebel against the pope, maintaining in general that it was not lawful for the clergy to possess lordships, lands, or immoveables ; and that they ought to subsist upon alms and voluntary oblations. Yet I confess I could wish to have found in authors contemporary with Arnauld the arguments by which they refuted his errors. For the two Letters of St. Bernard to the Romans upon this subject are pathetic declamations, supported by no proofs, and taking it for granted that the pope’s right was incontestable. And, as we observed before, he had no doubts concerning the Donation of Constantine. This deed, being received as a true one, established the fact, and the particular rights of the pope ; and as to the rights of the clergy in general, they were valid, as I have showed.

‘But they ought to have called to mind the maxim of the apostle, that, What is lawful is not always expedient ; and that the powers of the human mind are too limited to suffice at the same time for the exercise of temporal and of spiritual authority. At least, they ought to have respected the conduct of the antients ; and to have supposed that if Constantine’s Donation was real, St. Leo and St. Gregory must needs have known it ; and must, in that case, have declined the use of it for prudential reasons. The experience of more than six hundred ages hath showed that their conduct was wise. Bishops, who are no more than bishops, are in less danger of being involved in contentions with the secular power, which hath been continually struggling with lords-bishops. In the opinion of holy prelates, even the administration of temporal possessions was too heavy a burthen. St. Chrysostom complained of it ; and St. Ambrose delivered up the management even of his own patrimony to his brother Satyrus.

‘When the church made it a rule to admit none to holy orders, except such as embraced a state of continence, she had not only a respect to the purity becoming those who were continually employed about things sacred, but was desirous that her principal ministers should be disengaged from the cares which a married state unavoidably brings on,

and which makes St. Paul say, that he who is married is divided between God and the world. Now what is the care of one family compared with the care of a kingdom? or the conducting of a wife and children, and of a few domestics, with the government of a hundred thousand subjects?

‘We are more affected with sensible than with spiritual objects. A sovereign is occupied in repressing crimes, and preventing seditions and conspiracies against his person and his estate. He labours to defend and preserve it against foreign enemies, and to seize upon opportunities to aggrandize it. For this purpose he must raise and maintain troops, fortify places of defence, and amass treasures to defray so many expenses, correspond with neighbouring princes, negotiate, make treaties of commerce and alliance. To a politician these appear most serious and important affairs. Ecclesiastical functions, in comparison with these, seem to him mere trifles and child’s play. To sing in a church, to walk in a procession, to practise ceremonies, to make a catechism, are in his sight vulgar occupations, of which any one and every one is capable. The important and the solid point is to maintain his own power, and to weaken that of his enemies. Prayer, reading, meditating upon the Scriptures, are, in his opinion, fitter for a monk than a statesman. He hath no leisure time for such employments. You have seen how much St. Bernard feared for pope Eugenius, lest the burthen of worldly affairs should hinder him from making necessary reflections upon himself and his duties, and lead him at last into a hardened state of mind.

‘Perhaps you may imagine that a princely prelate will reserve for himself the spiritual functions, and leave the care of the state to some layman. No. That he will not do by any means, lest he should make this layman the real prince. He will choose to turn over his spirituals to others; for he is not afraid of a priest, a vicar-general, a suffragan-bishop. To them he will consent to transfer the study of divinity and of the canons, the office of preaching, the care of souls, contenting himself with a general account of these matters laid before him. But he will enter into the most accurate detail of his troops, his fortifications, and his finances; or he will employ for that purpose some of his

ecclesiastics, in whom he can better confide than in laymen; and these deputies will be, in outward appearance, clergymen, in reality statesmen. If you doubt of these assertions, look how the dioceses and dominions of powerful prelates in Germany and Poland are governed, and you will see by experience that the antient Christians were the wise men, and that this alliance of temporals and spirituals is never advantageous either to the church or to the state.

As to religion, most evidently it is better kept up by bishops who are only bishops, and entirely occupied in things spiritual, such as St. Ambrose and St. Augustin. They usually presided at the assemblies of the faithful, and offered up the holy sacrifice, to which they joined their exhortations and instructions; they were the preachers and the divines of their own church. The word of God had quite another effect coming from their mouth, and supported by their authority and their virtues, than in that of mere priests, often strangers or mercenaries. Theology was handled more seriously and nobly by such prelates so employed than by idle doctors, who sought only to start subtleties, and refine upon one another in frivolous speculations and new questions. The antient fathers of the church entered only into theological disputes, as new errors sprang up which they were obliged to refute; but they went into a particular detail in points relating to the instruction of the catechumens, the conversion of sinners, and the conduct of penitents. They were also the charitable arbitrators and mediators of peace between all Christians who were at variance; and to them every one applied for counsel and assistance, who was ambitious to make a progress in piety, as we learn from their Letters. It is true that nothing was to be expected from these holy bishops besides spiritual blessings; they made no man's fortunes in this world; and this was a singular advantage to religion. Wisely our Lord, who was wisdom itself, chose to be born poor, and to be destitute of all the possessions which are the objects of covetousness. His disciples were allured and attached to him only by the force of truth and by the love of virtue. He wanted to have servants like himself, attracted by no other motives than the desire of becoming

better men, and the hope of eternal life. Whosoever imagines that things temporal, of whatsoever kind they be, riches, honours, power, and the favour of the great, are proper methods to establish religion, he is quite mistaken, I affirm it boldly, and he hath not in him the spirit of the Gospel. The reason is evident. If you preach the Gospel, and have riches and honours to distribute, you cannot discern by what motive you are followed and regarded, whether that of gain or that of godliness; you run the risk of attracting hypocrites, or rather it is almost certain that you will attract none besides such, since the bulk of men is only affected with temporal profit. Say not that it is good to join the spiritual and the temporal together, and so to allure by all sorts of inducements men whose weakness is well known. Jesus Christ knew their weak side better than we, and yet never employed such methods. It is all an illusion of self-love; and the ministers of the Gospel are glad, in the mean time, themselves to enjoy that wealth and those honours which they pretend to employ as means to gain and to save souls.

‘Let us return to the bishops, and conclude that it was gross and coarse ignorance which made them imagine that seignories added to their sees were useful means for the support of religion. I know of no see, except that of Rome, which admits a peculiar plea for the union of the two powers. As long as the Roman empire subsisted, it contained in its vast extent almost all Christendom: but since Europe hath been divided amongst many independent princes, if the pope had been subject to one of them, it might have been feared that the rest would not have been disposed to acknowledge him as a common father, and that schisms would have been frequent. It may therefore be thought that by a particular providence the pope became independent, and lord of a state so powerful as not to be easily oppressed by other sovereigns; that so he might be more at liberty in the exercise of his spiritual power, and better able to keep all the bishops in order. This is the notion of a great prelate^d in our days.

^d Whom I should guess to be Bossuet. It looks like one of his refinements.

‘ But, in general, if the union of the two powers can be profitable for religious purposes, it ought to have conducted to establish and support those good morals which are the genuine fruits of Christian doctrine. For Jesus Christ did not only come to instruct us in speculative truths ; he came, as St. Paul says, to purify to himself a people acceptable, and zealous of good works. If this be the aim of true political wisdom, and the first duty of Christian princes, much more should it be so of ecclesiastics, whose very profession is to sanctify others. Let those who have travelled in the dominions of ecclesiastical princes tell us how the case is, whether fewer horrible crimes and scandalous vices are committed there, whether the highways are less infested with robbers, whether more honesty and veracity is found in trade and commerce ; in a word, whether the subjects of these prelates distinguish themselves from those of secular rulers by the purity of their morals.

‘ I never yet heard it said that the dominions of ecclesiastics are happier than other kingdoms, even in things temporal. On the contrary, as these princes are not warriors by profession, their subjects are often more exposed to the insults of foreign enemies. As those dominions are not hereditary, the relations and the creatures of the prince are only attentive to enrich themselves, and that at the expense of the people. They have no views of serving the public by augmenting the number of the inhabitants, cultivating the lands, favouring honest industry, facilitating commerce, encouraging arts and sciences, inviting and importing all that conduceth to secure plenty and the conveniences of life. These extensive views are more suitable to republics, or to kingdoms where princes have a regard for their own posterity.

‘ Amongst the Greeks we find no lords-prelates ; because, notwithstanding the weakness and declension of their empire, they ever preserved the Roman laws, and the maxims of wiser antiquity, according to which all the public power was vested in the sovereign, and was never communicated to the subject, except in magistracies, and offices which were not held as a property. Accordingly, the Greeks were much scandalized when they saw our bishops possessing seignories, bearing arms, raising troops, and heading

them. One of them said that the pope was not a bishop, but an emperor.

‘ What we have observed of Greek bishops is also to be understood of Syrian and other eastern prelates, even before they fell under the dominion of the Mahometans; for since that calamitous time they have been more slaves than lords.

‘ The spiritual dominion of the pope being thus extended by consequences drawn from the Decretals, he was obliged to commit his power to delegates, it being impossible for him either to go all over the world, or to bring all the world to him. Thence came the legations, so frequent since the eleventh century. Now these legates were of two sorts, either bishops and abbots of the country itself, or cardinals sent from the court of Rome. The legates also of the country were of two sorts; the one constituted by a particular commission from the pope, the others such as by the prerogative annexed to their see; and these were called legates born, *legati nati*, as the archbishops of Mentz and of Canterbury. The legates who came from Rome were called legates *à latere*, to show that the pope had sent them from his own person; and the expression was taken from the council of Sardica.

‘ The legates born did unwillingly suffer that the pope should commission others, to the prejudice of their privileges: but the pope placed more confidence in those of his own appointing than in prelates whom he knew not, or who did not suit his purposes. Now, amongst those whom he chose, the most acceptable to the country were they who dwelt upon the spot, because they were more capable of judging and determining affairs than strangers from remote places. You may have observed with what pressing solicitations Ivo of Chartres entreated the popes not to send those foreign legates. None such were received either in England or in France, unless the king himself had asked for them; and the bishops could not bear to see foreign bishops come and preside over them, and much less cardinal-priests or deacons: for till then all bishops had rank above those cardinals who were not prelates.

‘ But what rendered the legates *à latere* still more odious, was their pride, luxury, and avarice. They travelled nei-

her at their own expense nor at the pope's, but at that of the country whither they were sent. They travelled with a great equipage, at least of twenty-five horses; for to this number the third council of Lateran had reduced them. Wheresoever they passed they were to be magnificently defrayed by the bishops and the abbots; insomuch that the monasteries were sometimes reduced to sell the plate of their churches to answer the demands of the legates. You may have observed what complaints were made about it. That was not all yet: presents were to be made to them; they received gifts from the princes to whom they were sent, and from the parties who had causes before them; and nothing was ever expedited *gratis*. In a word, these legations were golden mines for the cardinals, who used to return home loaded with cash. You have seen what St. Bernard says upon this subject, and with what admiration he speaks of a disinterested legate.

‘The usual end of the legation was a council, which the legate called at such times and places as he thought proper. There he presided, and decided the affairs in hand, with the approbation of the bishops, whose only business was to applaud; for no great deliberation was used. Thus insensibly were abolished the provincial councils, which, according to the canons, every metropolitan was to hold every year. The dignity of archbishops, obscured by that of the legates, dwindled into mere titles and ceremonies, such as to have a pall to wear, and a cross to be carried before them. But they lost all authority over their suffragans, and no other councils were to be seen but those of the legates. And by the way, these frequent legations seem to have given rise to the distinguished rank which the cardinals of the church of Rome have since held. For every church had its own cardinals, that is, its own priests and deacons, with certain titles annexed. But when in these councils cardinal-legates were seen taking place of bishops, archbishops, primates, and patriarchs, by degrees people were accustomed to annex to the title of cardinal the idea of a dignity inferior only to that of the pope. The dress of the cardinals, when they appeared in pomp, confirmed this notion. The cope and the hat were a travelling dress, which suited the pope's embassa-

dors; and *red*^c was the colour affected by the pope: and, to represent him the better, the legates wore it, according to the remark of a Greek historian.

‘ Yet hence arose one of the greatest changes which the discipline of the church underwent, namely, the cessation of provincial councils, and the diminution of the authority of the metropolitans. Was it fit that this decent order, so well established from the beginning of the church, and so usefully observed for eight or ten centuries, should be banished and overset without deliberation, without examination, without knowledge of the cause? But in truth, what imaginable reason could be assigned for the change? Legates who were strangers, who knew not the language or the manners of the country, who were sojourners there for a few days, could they be more proper than the ordinary pastors to judge of disputes, and to re-establish discipline? Supposing them to have made excellent regulations in a council, could they be assured that such orders would be obeyed if the bishops did not lend a helping hand? Conclude we then upon this article, as upon the rest, that the antient discipline was not exchanged for a better. And in fact we do not find that these frequent legations proved of any advantage to religion.

‘ The bishops and metropolitans were so ignorant of their own rights, that they greedily sought after legatine powers; never considering how much better was an authority, if lesser, yet inherent and independent, than one more extensive, but borrowed and precarious. It seemed as though they could do nothing of themselves, unless the pope supported them; and he, on his part, was very ready to grant them favours of which they stood not in need, and which always augmented his jurisdiction. The same holds true proportionably of the frequent practice of those days to get the pope to confirm conventions made between churches, and profitable donations bestowed upon them; as if these acts were the less valid unless he confirmed them. By granting favours which the suiter had no occasion to ask, new claims

* His holiness should rather have chosen some other colour than that of the *great red dragon*, and of the *whore arrayed in scarlet*. Revelat. xii. 3. xvii. 4.

are seized by the giver, and a pretence that his consent is necessary.

‘ The popes were often obliged to depart from Rome since the eleventh century, either by the revolts of the Romans, who could not be brought to acknowledge them as sovereigns, or by the schisms of the antipopes. They resided in neighbouring cities, as in Orvieto, Viterbo, and Anagni; and their court followed them; which it is necessary to observe, that we may not confound the city and the court of Rome. I find not that before this time the word *court* was made use of, to signify the retinue of a pope, or of a bishop. The expression would have been thought too secular and profane. Sometimes the popes could not reside even in Italy; and then they took refuge in France, as did Innocent II. and Alexander III.; for the persecuted popes were no where safer than in France. And as in this kind of exile they enjoyed not their revenues, they were obliged to subsist by the liberality of princes, and by the voluntary contributions of the clergy. This may be collected from a sermon of Arnoul of Lisieux, at the opening of the council of Tours. Thus began the subsidies, which the popes often demanded afterwards of the princes, or of churches, either to enable them to go to war, or for other occasions. How different was this conduct from that of St. Gregory, who so liberally bestowed his revenues through the provinces! of the pope St. Dionysius, who assisted the afflicted churches, even as far as Cappadocia! and, to go higher, of St. Soter, to whom St. Dionysius of Corinth bears a glorious testimony of his charities to the Greek churches! How entirely had they forgotten the noble independence of Christian poverty, and the maxim of our Lord, that it is more blessed to give than to receive!

‘ It is a disagreeable task to expose facts of this kind; and I fear that some persons who have more piety than knowledge will be scandalized at it, and will say perhaps that, in historical relations, such facts should be dissembled, or, after being barely named, should not be resumed and dwelt upon in a Dissertation. But the foundation of history is truth; and to dissemble it, even in part, is not to relate it faithfully. A flattering portrait is no likeness; and such is every panegyric, which makes a person appear commen-

dable by setting forth only his good qualities. Vain and clumsy artifice, which disgusts men of sense, and makes them the more attentive to discover the defects that are so cautiously concealed ! To tell half-truths is a species of lying. No man is obliged to write history ; but if he will undertake it, he is obliged to tell the whole truth. Spondanus, having bestowed great commendations on Guichardin, adds : If sometimes he censures with asperity princes and other persons whose conduct he relates, this is the fault of the guilty, and not of the historian. He would have been far more reprehensible if he had dissembled those bad actions which may tend to make others wiser and better, and discourage them from committing the like, at least through shame and fear of being exposed themselves in the same manner, according to the saying in the Gospel ; There is nothing hid, which shall not be revealed.

‘ Sacred history hath set us an example to follow. Moses palliates neither his own faults, nor those of his people. David was willing that his sin should be recorded, with all its odious circumstances ; and in the New Testament, all the evangelists have taken care to represent the fall of St. Peter. True religion is grounded on sincerity ; it wants none of the tricks of human policy. As God permits evils which he could have prevented, because he can make them turn to the benefit of his servants, we ought to believe that he will cause the knowledge of the disorders committed in his church to conduce to our profit. If indeed these disorders had so ceased that no traces of them remained, possibly it might be proper to bury them in eternal oblivion ; but we see and feel too plainly their pernicious effects in the heresies which have torn the church in pieces for these two hundred years, in the ignorance and superstition which reign in some Catholic countries, and in the corruptions of morality by certain new maxims. And is it not useful to know what gave rise to these deplorable evils ?

‘ If we should be ever so desirous to abolish the memory of these antient disorders, it would not be in our power, unless we could suppress all the writings and all the monuments which remain of the six or seven last centuries. And who could execute such a project ? If the Catholics agreed to attempt it, would the Heretics concur with them ? Would

they not, on the contrary, be the more sedulous to preserve those records which were so odious to us? Since then it is impossible that these facts should be obliterated, is it not better that they should be represented faithfully, simply, sincerely, and without disguise, by Catholic writers, than surrendered up into the hands of Protestants, who alter, exaggerate, and turn them in the most spiteful manner? Is it not useful to point out to pious people the true reasonable medium between the extremes of some modern writers? The pope is not Antichrist: but he is not impeccable, nor an absolute monarch in the church in temporals and spirituals. Monastic vows did not proceed from the devil's shop; but the monks have degenerated from time to time, and have made a bad use of their wealth and their privileges. The church hath power to grant indulgences: but the canonical penances were more salutary. The scholastic divines are not contemptible sophists; they have preserved the tradition of sound doctrine; but they are not to be blindly admired, or preferred to the fathers of the church. Perhaps, for who knows the designs of God, or hath been admitted into his councils? perhaps he hath permitted these disorders in his church, to teach men by their own experience to follow his precepts according to their plain and obvious sense, and not to seek to establish his religion by the maxims of worldly policy. You fancy that wealth joined to virtue will make you happier; you will find the difficulty of joining them together. You think that the priesthood will have more authority when joined with temporal power; and you will lose the true authority which consists in being esteemed and trusted. You hope to make yourselves formidable and punctually obeyed by pouring out your censures: by so doing you will make those censures contemptible and ineffectual. Be instructed at least by facts, and learn wisdom from the faults and follies of your ancestors.

‘ There are two sorts of persons who take it amiss that the facts which are a disgrace to the church should be exposed. The first are profane politicians, who, ignorant of true religion, consider it all as a human invention to keep the populace in order, and are afraid of every thing that might tend to diminish the veneration of it in the

minds of the vulgar, by undeceiving them. I will have no dispute with these men, who want first to be converted and instructed. But willingly would I satisfy, if it were possible, pious and scrupulous minds, which are alarmed by a zeal without knowledge, and fear where no fear is. What is it that you dread? I would say to them. Is it to know the truth? If so, you choose to remain in error, or in ignorance. And how can you safely remain in that state? you whose office it is to instruct others! For I speak now to ecclesiastics, who ought particularly to be acquainted with ecclesiastical history. In this enlightened age, can we maintain the Donation of Constantine and the Decretals of Isidorus? And if these records are indefensible, can we approve the consequences which are drawn from them?

‘ Let us then frankly acknowledge that Gregory VII. and Innocent III, deceived by these forgeries, and by the bad logic of the divines of their days, have pushed their authority too far, and by extending it have made it odious; and let us not pretend to justify excesses of which we see both the causes and the wretched effects. For, whatsoever can be alleged to the contrary, it is evident that the first ages furnish us with a greater number of pious popes than the latter, and that the morals and discipline of the Roman church were far more pure in the earlier times. Now it is not conceivable that the popes should only then have begun to know their rights, and to exercise their power in its full extent, when their lives began to be less edifying, and their flock to be less regulated. This reflection affords a grievous prejudice against the novel maxims.

‘ Of all the alterations of discipline, I find none which have more decried the church than the rigour which she exercised against heretics and excommunicated persons. You have seen how Sulpitius Severus blames and detests the two bishops Idatius and Ithacius for having solicited the secular judges to banish the Priscillianists, and applied to the emperor against them. But the indignation was increased when these prelates pursued the Priscillianists to Treves, and appeared openly as their accusers. St. Martin instantly pressed Ithacius to desist, and entreated the emperor Maximus not to shed the blood of these here-

tics; and when they were put to death, St. Ambrose and St. Martin would no longer hold communion with Ithacius, or with the bishops who adhered to him, although they were protected by the emperor; and Theognostus, a bishop, gave sentence publicly against them. As to Martin, he reproached himself all his life afterwards for having occasionally communicated with the Ithacians, and even that with a charitable view to save the life of some innocent persons. So horrible a thing it appeared to them that prelates should have had a hand in putting to death those heretics, although their sect was a branch of the detestable heresy of the Manichæans!

‘ The Donatists, and particularly their *circumcelliones*, exercised great cruelties upon the Catholics, killing some ecclesiastics, and maiming others; yet St. Augustin in his letters to Donatus, proconsul of Afric, and to Marcellinus, entreats that these men may not be put to death for it, or punished by the laws of retaliation, &c.

‘ Some time before, Marcellinus, bishop of Apamea in Syria, being burnt alive by Pagans, whose temple he had demolished, his children wanted to have his death revenged. But the provincial council opposed it, judging that it was not right to revenge a martyrdom for which thanks ought rather to be returned to God. Amongst many examples of a like kind, I choose out this, as it shows particularly the spirit of the church in the decision of a whole council.

‘ But this holy discipline was forgotten from the eighth century. The death of Bonifacius of Mentz was revenged by the Christians of the country, and many Pagans were slain on that account. Venceslas, duke of Bohemia, having been murdered, for his religion, by his brother Boléslas, Otho I., king of Germany, made war upon Boleslas, to revenge the death of the martyr. Boleslas, the cruel king of Poland, having killed Stanislas, bishop of Cracovia, was deprived of his royal state by Gregory VII., as the Polish historians inform us. As soon as St. Thomas^e was killed, the archbishop of Sens, his brother-in-law, and the king of France sent to the pope to demand justice in behalf of the prelate,

whom yet they called a martyr ; and it was not without pressing solicitations that the pope was persuaded not to excommunicate the king of England, and put his kingdom under interdict, which, according to the maxims of that age, tended to dethrone him. And so alarmed was the king about it, that he retired to Ireland till he was assured of obtaining absolution. Pope Innocent III. decreed the severest punishment against the count of Toulouse, who was supposed guilty of the death of Peter of Castelnau. He ordered him to be excommunicated, he absolved his subjects from their oaths of fidelity, he permitted every Catholic to attack his person and to seize his lands. Nothing can be more remote from the antient ecclesiastical mildness than the conduct of Henry, archbishop of Cologne, to revenge the death of St. Englebert, his predecessor. As soon as he was elected, he swore that he would pursue the offenders all the days of his life. He carried the dead body to the diet, and presented it to the king and to the lords. He caused count Frederic, author of the murder, to be put to the ban of the empire. He promised a thousand marks of silver to any person that would seize and deliver the count into his hands : he paid twice as much as he had promised ; and having thus taken the count, he caused him to be put to death in a most barbarous manner by the hangman, though the count showed all possible signs of repentance.

‘ As to heretics, they who were discovered at Orleans, and convicted in the presence of king Robert, were burnt upon the spot ; and if the bishops did not solicit it, it appears not that they opposed it. But the Bogomili, who like these were also a sort of Manichæans, being found out at Constantinople by the emperor Alexis Comnenus, were condemned to the flames by the clergy and by the patriarch himself.

‘ This was the common punishment of the heretics called Cathari, Paterini, Albigenses, and others of other denominations, but all of them Manichæans. They had been doomed to death even from the fourth century by the emperor Theodosius, and afterwards by Justin, and their abominations well deserved it ; but it became not ecclesiastics to press the execution. And we find that the council of-

Lateran, under Alexander III., acknowledgeth that the church meddles not with sanguinary executions, although she permits herself to be assisted by the laws of Christian princes to repress heresies. This maxim hath ever been constant.

‘ But as to practice, it hath not been always followed. When pope Innocent III. wrote to king Philip Augustus to turn his arms against the Albigenes, and when in France he caused the croisade against them to be published, was this a condemnation of such bloody proceedings? I will speak of the croisades another time; I am here only considering the prosecution of heretics; and I must confess that I cannot reconcile the conduct of the ecclesiastics of the thirteenth century with that of the saints of the fourth. When I see prelates and abbots at the head of the armies which made so great a slaughter of heretics, as at the taking of Beziers; when I see the abbot of Cisteaux desiring the death of the heretics at Minerbe, though he did not dare to condemn them openly, because he was a monk and a priest; when I see the croisez burn these poor wretches with triumph and exultation, as a writer of those times testifies in many places of his History; in all this I discern no more the true spirit of the church.

‘ If then they spared not the lives of these men, it is no wonder that they spared not their goods. You have seen that Gregory VII. offered to Sueno, the king of Denmark, a very rich province, occupied by heretics, for his son to seize and possess. As if the heresy of the conquered gave a lawful title to the conqueror! The Canonists have since established this maxim, that heretics have no right to possess any thing; founding the opinion on some passages of St. Augustin produced by Gratian. But they have extended to all heretics, and to all their possessions, what this father only said of the Donatists, and of the pecuniary fines which were imposed upon them, and of the plundered goods of the church which they had been compelled to return. Leave Gratian with his reflections, the summaries, and the modern glosses, and consult originals, and you will see that they breathe mildness and charity; and have only in view just restitutions, and wholesome corrections for the conversion of heretics.

‘ When St. Gregory Nazianzen was called to Constantinople, though he could have availed himself of all the power of the emperor Theodosius, he trusted only to Christian patience; he did not solicit the magistrates to put in execution against the heretics those laws which they despised; far from desiring the confiscation of their goods, he would not even take the least step to oblige them to refund the immense revenues of his church, which they had pillaged for forty years; he generously forgave an assassin who came even into his chamber to kill him; he suffered himself to be pelted with stones even to the door of his church, and answered a friend who was full of indignation at it, It is good to punish the guilty for the correction of others; but it is better and more divine to suffer. These generous sentiments were forgotten in the twelfth century, when Peter of Celles, writing to St. Thomas of Canterbury, said that non-resisting patience was the only portion of the young church in the first ages; but now, adds he, that she is come to maturity she ought to correct her children. As if the church was not arrived to her maturity in the days of Theodosius, or had suffered persecution from Pagans and Heretics only through a mere inability of resisting !

‘ I close these melancholy reflections with the change that was introduced into penances. Public penitence was turned into tortures and temporal punishments. By tortures I mean those horrible spectacles exposed to the public, when a penitent appeared naked down to his waste, with a rope about his neck, and rods in his hands, with which he was beaten by the clergy. In this manner, besides other persons, Raimond, the old count of Toulouse, was treated. I am of opinion that this was the origin of the *amendes honorables* [*amendæ honorabiles*] received since many ages in secular tribunals, but utterly unknown to all antiquity. Hence arose also those fraternities of penitents established in some provinces; nominal penitents for the most part. For these penitences were more specious than serious; they were not proofs of the true conversion of a sinner, they were often merely the effect of fear lest they should lose their temporal possessions. The count of Toulouse dreaded the croisade which the pope stirred up against

him ; and, to go further back, when the emperor Henry IV. so humbly begged absolution of pope Gregory VII., as to remain for three days at his door, barefooted and fasting till night, it was because he feared to lose his crown if he remained under excommunication for the whole year. Accordingly neither of these princes became a better man after absolution than he had been before. These forced penitences were not durable ; and the shame and infamy annexed to them, far from producing a salutary confusion, only irritated the offender, and put him upon studying how to revenge the affront. For, as Chrysostom observes, he who is insulted becomes the more audacious, and despised and hates the insulter.

‘ To make these penances the more felt, pecuniary mulcts were added to them, of which the payment was exacted before the absolution was granted ; and if the payment was duly made, the rest of the penance was easily overlooked. You have seen how St. Hugo of Lincoln repressed this abuse. Thus then penances and absolutions became temporal transactions with respect to private persons as well as to princes. No longer was any care taken to explore by long trials the conversion and renovation of heart, which was the thing intended by the canonical penitences ; but the point was, to get proper securities for the restitution of an usurped property, of depredations and damages, or for the payment of a fine ; and as the penitent, especially if he were a prince, was in haste to remove the effects of an excommunication, or of an interdict, his first step was to procure absolution, by giving an oath that he would satisfy the church within a certain time, under pain of having the excommunication renewed. These promises often were not performed, and then all was to be done over again ; for the unconverted offender was in no hurry to give the promised satisfaction, when by absolution he had obtained all that he cared for, namely, to enter into his rights, and to be delivered from the present dread of losing them. Of this you have seen many an example, and more shall be produced hereafter. At the same time was introduced the practice of granting the absolution itself in the secret penitence, as soon as confession was made, and satisfaction enjoined and accepted ; though in antient times absolution

was not granted till the penance was fully accomplished, or at least in a great measure. This alteration was founded on the reasonings of scholastic doctors, who held that external absolution ought not to be refused to him who was supposed to have received it internally from God, by virtue of the apparent contrition of his heart; and that, being in a state of grace, he could more profitably perform satisfactory works. But it ought to have been considered that man is much more excited to act by the hope of obtaining what he desires, than by gratitude for having received it, or by faithfulness in fulfilling the promises which he made in order to obtain it. A sick man observes much more the diet prescribed to him for the recovery of his lost health, than for the preservation of it when he thinks himself cured. Few creditors are to be found who will give a discharge beforehand, upon a promise made or even sworn to by the debtor that he will pay at a set time.

‘ Besides, penances, or satisfactory works, had been relaxed more and more from the strictness of the old canons, which were now proposed to confessors only as examples to be consulted upon occasion, and not as rules to be exactly followed; upon a false supposition, that nature was enfeebled, and that the human body had no longer the strength to bear fastings and other austerities. Some doctors went so far as to say that it was mere Judaizing, to adhere to the letter of the antient canons. They also extended to all priests a right which the bishops had always exercised, to mitigate penances, either by lessening the penitential works, or by shortening the time. At last the maxim was established, that all penances were to be left to the discretion of the confessor; and as even then the number of confessors, both secular and regular, was become very great, it is no wonder that they did not always act prudently in this affair; and that penances, even for heinous offences, were very slight and superficial.

‘ It is true that the multitude of indulgences, and the facility of granting them, became a great obstacle to the zeal of the more judicious confessors. Hard was the task to persuade a sinner to fasting and to other discipline, who could buy it off by a few alms, or by paying a visit to a church. For the bishops of the twelfth and thirteenth cen-

turies granted indulgences for all sorts of pious works ; as the building a church, the supporting an hospital ; and even for public works of other kinds, for making a bridge, or a causeway, or mending the roads.

‘ These are the indulgences which the fourth council of Lateran calls indiscreet and superfluous, which make the keys of the church contemptible, and weaken its discipline. To repress this abuse, it orders that, for the dedication of a church, the indulgence granted shall not be for more than one year, although many bishops should be assembled there ; for each of them, it seems, pretended to give his own indulgence.

‘ William, bishop of Paris, who lived in those times, explains to us the motives of these indulgences : He who hath the power, says he, to impose penal satisfactions may either augment or diminish them, as he finds it expedient for the honour of God, the salvation of souls, and the public or private utility. Now it is manifest that more honour accrues to God, and more benefit to souls, by the building a church where God is continually served with prayers and sacrifices, than would arise from the severest performance of penal works. Therefore it is the duty of the bishop to convert these bodily penances into works more useful. And again : it is to be supposed that the saints, who have so much interest with God, obtain from him most ample indulgences for those who honour them, by doing good to the churches where their memory is revered. As to the indulgences granted to those who make or repair bridges and highways, these are works useful to pilgrims and other pious travellers, besides the common benefit enjoyed by all the faithful.

‘ These arguments, if they had been solid, ought to have influenced the bishops of the first ages, who had established the canonical penitences ; but those good men extended their views much further. They knew that God is more honoured by the pure and pious morals of Christians than by building and ornamenting churches, by chanting in them, by ceremonies, by bodily services, which are only the externals of religion, whose essential part is righteousness or virtue. Now as Christians, for the most part, are not so happy as to preserve their baptismal innocence, those

wise pastors, instructed by the apostles, had studied all possible means of restoring sinners, and preserving them from relapses; and they found no better remedies and preservatives than to engage them to inflict voluntary punishments upon themselves by fastings, watchings, retirement, recollection, silence, and the retrenchment of all pleasures, by which they may confirm their good resolutions; to be constant in prayer and meditation on sacred and eternal truths; and to practise these religious exercises for a considerable time, that they may be assured of the certainty of their conversion. In vain do we speculate and run into subtle refinements; these good practices tended more directly to the salvation of souls, and consequently to the glory of God, than alms given for the erecting, repairing, and decorating a church. A sinner truly affected with the heinousness of his guilt, and with the eternal punishment which it deserves, will account all mortification to be a light burthen. He who wants to obtain pardon upon the easiest terms is not converted; all that he wants is to quiet his mind, and to save appearances. In a word, let us appeal to experience. Never were Christians more religious than when canonical penitences were regularly kept up: never were they more corrupted than since that discipline was abolished.

‘ Give me leave to propose to you a parallel instance: a prince, by a false clemency, offers to all criminals some easy methods to avoid punishment; as moderate fines applied to defray the expenses of his buildings and of his troops; a formal appearance at his palace; a petition for pardon; or, if the crimes have been very heinous, an obligation laid upon the offender to list himself for a soldier, and to serve for some years in the army. What think you of this? Would his kingdom be well governed? Would innocence of manners and integrity in commerce flourish there? Would the highways be safe for travellers, and the public tranquillity maintained? Would not vice of every kind and an unbounded licentiousness prevail, together with all the fatal consequences of such impunity? The application is obvious.

‘ We must then return to the maxim of St. Paul, that all things which are lawful are not always expedient. For this

same prince; who should thus pardon all criminals, would only exercise his own rights, since we suppose him to be the sovereign; but he would exercise them most indiscreetly. The same is the case of indulgences. Every good Catholic will allow that the church can grant them, and that she ought to grant them in certain cases, and that she hath always exercised this power: but it is the duty of her ministers to dispense these favours with discretion and caution, and not with an useless or a pernicious profusion.

‘I conclude this Discourse with a desire that you would remember, what I think hath been proved, that the alterations in the discipline of the church, since five or six hundred years, were not introduced by the authority of bishops or of councils to correct antient practices; but by negligence, by ignorance, and by error grounded on the false Decretals, and on the false reasoning of scholastic doctors. God grant that we may make a good use of his grace, by which we have the happiness of being born in a more enlightened age; and that, if we cannot retrieve the antient discipline, we may at least esteem it, reverence it, and regret it!’

A FEW strictures on this Dissertation will suffice.

Here are corruptions enough, and more than enough, acknowledged and set forth with some degree of fairness, to which more might be added. What followed? Did the popes and the court of Rome own them, and endeavour to correct them? No; nothing that deserved the name of amendment was produced; nothing done to any purpose by the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil. At last arose Luther, and other reformers, who were persecuted with the utmost malice and fury. Then came the council of Trent, which made bad worse; and thus things stand at this day.

Add to the rest, the Jesuits and the Inquisitors:

‘Tristius haud illis monstrum, nec sævior ulla
Pestis et ira Deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.’

Can Protestants enter into alliance and communion with such a generation of vipers?

Fleury, and others of his sentiments, who wish for some reformation, would perhaps willingly bring the state of the church, as to doctrine and discipline, to its condition in the fourth and fifth centuries. Alas! this is doing very little. Many were the faults and errors of those times, and the mystery of iniquity was even then working. We must go to the fountain-head, to the doctrine of the New Testament.

I can by no means allow Fleury's supposition, that the popes mentioned by him, and particularly the execrable Hildebrand, erred *bonâ fide*, being misled by the Decretals. The heretics of those days, such of them I mean who acknowledged the sacred authority of the New Testament, particularly the honest Waldenses, discerned very plainly that the powers usurped by the popes and ecclesiastics were tyrannical and antichristian; and consequently that the Decretals, which established some of those notions, must have been impudent forgeries. Why could not the popes discern the same? Because profaneness, pride, ambition, and avarice hardened their hearts, and blinded their eyes; because they would neither examine, nor let other people examine.

It is to be supposed that the Donations of Constantine, the Decretals, some of the Councils, and other documents and records for the same purpose, were forged by the popes themselves, or by persons acting under their direction, about the ninth century^e.

He compares the extravagant usurpations of Hildebrand, and of other popes of the same stamp, with the more modest behaviour of St. Leo and St. Gregory. But the truth is, that all the popes, from the time of Constantine, saints as well as sinners, laboured to extend their jurisdiction, and uniformly carried on the same scheme. Rome was not built in a day, says the proverb; and popedom was not built in a day: but one encroachment was followed by another, till at last it brought on the *seculum Hildebrandinum*.

He complains of false miracles, and yet hath inserted thousands of them in his Ecclesiastical History; like the quack who vends his powder of post, and cries, Beware of counterfeits.

As to the affair of persecution, he rather shuffles it over,

^e See Mosheim, p. 328.

though indeed he seems to have said as much against it as it was safe for him to say. But he should not have commended the lenity of St. Augustin, who, after he had dropped some reasonable expressions in favour of Christian mildness and moderation, played the turncoat, and became the preacher and the patron of persecution.

The church ought not to shed blood. So says Fleury; and so says the Inquisition at this day. That honour is transferred to the civil magistrate; and thus the priest is the judge, and the king is the hangman.

As to penance, or repentance, you must not expect to find just notions of it in these quarters; and Fleury saw only a part of the truth. The unwholesome austerities and frantic macerations of fanatics of antient times, who were called saints, introduced and established in the Christian world wrong notions concerning penitence and penitential works. Repentance is a change of mind for the better; and the proper penance of a sinner is to mortify his unruly passions and his lusts, and, to the utmost of his power, to repair all the wrongs that he hath done. In other respects, the duties of a repenting sinner are nearly the same which are required of all Christians.

A. 1201. The pope's legate at Cologne ordered that in the mass, at the elevation of the host, all the people should prostrate themselves in the church, at the sound of the bell, and implore God's mercy, till the consecration of the chalice. He ordered also, that when the sacrament was carried to the sick, the scholar and ringer should go before the priest, and ring the bell, to admonish the people to worship Jesus Christ in the streets and in the houses. Hence came these two pious customs.

The pope by his legate presumed to elect an emperor of Germany, or king of the Romans. The lords and prelates made warm remonstrances against this usurpation; to which his holiness returned a most impudent answer^f.

The language which was called the *Roman-rustic* was used in the provinces which had obeyed the Romans; and from this language, and its different dialects in different places, sprang the Italian, the French, and the Spanish^g.

^f Fleury, xvi. 90.

^g Spener, Hist. Germ.

A. 1202. Innocent was consulted whether the water mixed with the wine is changed into the blood of Christ. He answers in the affirmative, after having acknowledged that the scholastics were of different opinions about it.

At the same time it was debated at Constantinople, whether in the eucharist the body of Christ was received incorruptible, as it was after his resurrection, or corruptible, as it was before. This dispute was carried on not only by divines, but by the vulgar in the streets and in the markets. It is to be supposed that the *incorruptibles* got the better. It was also questioned whether Christ, whilst he was here upon earth, performed natural actions like other men^h.

This was the century in which hanging and burning heretics for God's sake became the universal practice, being chiefly promoted by the ecclesiastics and by the pope, who declared, in formal terms, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, and no oaths binding on that occasionⁱ.

A. 1203. All the conquests made by the croisez were supposed to become the pope's patrimony.

The popes now began to find the great advantages which accrued to them from the expeditions to the Holy Land, and therefore violently pressed forwards this pious war. But the croisez, who were French and Venetians, instead of fighting the infidels, took Constantinople a second time, and made a Latin^k emperor.

The Greeks^l chose for their emperor Theodorus Lasca-
ris, whose residence was at Nicæa in Natolia. From this time there were two emperors of the Greeks, the one a Frank, the other a Greek, till Michael Palæologus^m recovered Constantinople.

The croisez found and carried off, besides vast wealth and things of real value, a prodigious number of holy reliques, of which a curious inventory may be seen in Fleury; and they crowned Baldwin emperor. Nicetas hath given us a tragical account of their impieties and barbarities.

Another expedition was undertakenⁿ by the Italians and Germans; but it came to nought.

^h Fleury, xvi. 106. Bibl. Univ. vii. 66.

ⁱ Fleury, xvi. 174. 240.

^k A. 1204.

^l A. 1206.

^m A. 1216.

ⁿ A. 1217.

A third^o performed something, but yet no great matter.

Other expeditions, less famous, and altogether unsuccessful, were undertaken^p.

Then Louis IX. of France, called St. Louis, attempted^q the same; and was taken prisoner, and ransomed. He renewed^r the war; and died, like a fool, of the plague, in Afric.

Then the European princes were at last cured of this phrensy; and the power of the Latins in the East was extinguished, A. 1291.

These repeated crosses and calamities were owing not so much to the conduct and courage of the Mahometans, as to the dissensions of the Christians, and their treachery towards each other, to the worse than Pagan morals of these religious soldiers of Christ, and to the consummate ignorance, stubbornness, and sauciness of the papal legates^s.

Saint Louis was a great patron of the inquisition. This pious prince, and it was no small part of his piety, had a most implacable hatred towards heretics of all denominations; and held that such persons should not be reasoned with, but killed upon the spot^t.

Pope Innocent gave leave to the croisez to help themselves to necessities wheresoever they found them. This permission, says Fleury^u, to live upon pillage in a friend's country is remarkable; and the more so, as the pope authorises it by examples taken from Scripture.

A. 1206. At this time *Dominic*, of Castille, began to act the missionary and the inquisitor; and *Francis*, an Italian, signalized himself as a preacher and a saint. These two famous fanatics and founders of two pernicious orders, turned the brains of multitudes, and did infinite mischief in the world^x.

A. 1208. From the old statutes of the church of Paris

^p A. 1228.

^q A. 1239, and 1240.

^r A. 1258.

^s A. 1270.

^t Mosheim, p. 492, &c. Fleury, xvi. 120.

^u Mosheim, p. 549.

^x xvi. 120.

^y Fleury, xvi. 218. Bibl. Univ. ix. 40. Cave, ii. 263. 344. Mosheim, p. 517.

it appears that when a marriage was celebrated, the curate for his fee had some dishes of the wedding-feast sent home to him^y.

A. 1212. One of the exploits of St. Francis was to persuade a girl of eighteen, called St. Clara, to elope from her parents; and her younger sister followed her example. For this he ought to have been shut up in a jail, or in a mad-house, the rest of his days. This St. Clara was abbess of a monastery, famous for her austerities and macerations, and received answers to her prayers from the consecrated wafer, which she kept in a box. She died A. 1253^z.

A. 1213. Innocent III, exhorting the Christian world to the croisade, acted the prophet, foretold the downfall of the power of Mahomet, and called him the *beast* in the Revelation. Thus Antichrist was shifting off his own character, and transferring it upon another.

The boys and girls in France and Germany caught the epidemical madness, and listed themselves as croisez to go to Jerusalem, and ran away from home. Many of these poor children perished in the fields and forests^a.

A little before this time was born Brunetto Latini at Florence, who was the reviver of letters in Italy; and was orator, poet, historian, philosopher, theologer, and politician. Danté was his disciple. This author speaks of the mariner's compass, and of this use of the loadstone, forty years before A. 1300, which is the time usually fixed for that discovery^b.

A. 1215. Till Innocent III. the manner of the change in the eucharist was not accounted an article of faith: but he in the council of Lateran established *transubstantiation*, both the *doctrine* and the *word*. Matthew Paris doth justice to this pope, by saying that he was the most avaricious and ambitious of men, and capable of committing all sorts of crimes. He adds, that Innocent caused seventy articles of faith to be read before the council; and commanded the holy fathers there assembled to approve them in the lump,

^y Fleury, xvi. 244.

^z Ibid. xvi. 316. xvii. 486.

^a Ibid. xvi. 323.

^b See Hist. de l'Acad. iv. 462. Bayle, *Dante*. Reinesius, *De Deo Endovellico*; and the Notes of Crenius in his *Museum Philolog.* ii. 343.

without entering into any examination. And Allix affirms that the decree which established transubstantiation never obtained the force of a law till some time afterwards; and indeed the doctrine of transubstantiation, notwithstanding this decision, was still contested and rejected by several prelates and doctors^c.

Innocent managed his matters so, that he made king John surrender to him the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and act only as his deputy and his vassal.

A. 1223. Francis went up into a mountain, and there fasting on bread and water he wrote his law, that is, the Rule for his Order of Mendicants, by divine revelation. He gave it to his vicar, Elias, who lost it. And then the saint went up a second time, and did the same thing again, pretending that it was all the word of God^d.

In the year following he had the *stigmata*, or the five wounds of Jesus Christ, formed in his body. Either the whole story is an imposture vouched by himself and by his lying disciples, or he made the wounds himself; or, as some have fancied, they were the effect of a strong imagination in his fanatical mind. But of these solutions the last will seem to most persons the least probable.

In the year 1222 an impostor was found in England, who had upon him the five wounds of Christ, in his hands, his feet, and his side. But he was convicted, in a council held at Oxford, by his own confession.

Long afterwards, sister Mary, a Portuguese nun, had also on her body the five wounds, and passed for a saint of the first magnitude. But the artifice was discovered by the inquisition, A. 1588^e.

‘That Francis really had the *stigmata* I make no question, since there are many sufficient vouchers for it. But without all peradventure this man, who was extremely superstitious and fanatical, made them himself^f.’

A. 1226. Louis VIII. of France, headed a croisade, to cut the throats of all the Albigenses, and took Avignon^g.

^c Bibl. Univ. iii. 402. v. 464. Fleury, xvi. 384. Mosheim, p. 537.

^d Fleury, xvi. 553.

^e Fleury, xvi. 544, &c. Bibl. Univ. viii. 149. Rapin, vol. i. p. 352.

^f Mosheim, p. 579.

^g Fleury, xvi. 601.

A. 1227. An inquisition was established in France. St. Dominic hath the honour of being the father and the founder of that diabolical institution^h.

A. 1228. An Armenian archbishop came to England, and with a grave face told our monks the story of the *Rambling Jew*, who, having insulted Jesus Christ when he stood before Pilate, was doomed by our Lord to live and to travel about till the day of judgment, and was then in Armeniaⁱ.

Now papal impudence was at its height. Gregory IX. excommunicated the emperor Frederic, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, made war upon him, and pillaged all the ecclesiastics, and particularly the English, to support his expenses. His troops signalized themselves by their wickedness, and committed all kinds of outrages and barbarities.

This pope canonized St. Francis, having got his miracles attested by a competent number of false witnesses^k.

A. 1229. In the council of Toulouse a most severe and sanguinary inquisition was established against heretics.

One of its canons is, It shall not be permitted to laymen to have the books of the Old and New Testament; only they who, out of devotion, desire it, may have a Psalter, a Breviary, and the Hours of the Virgin. But we absolutely forbid them to have the above-mentioned books translated into the vulgar tongue.

‘This is the first time,’ says Fleury^l, ‘that I have met with this prohibition; but it may be favourably explained by observing, that the minds of men being then much irritated, there was no other method to put a stop to contentions than by taking away from them the holy Scriptures, of which the heretics made a bad use.’

A poor excuse indeed!

A. 1230. The Prussians were at this time Pagans: but the knights of the Teutonic order entered into the country, and waged bloody war with them for fifty-three years; and at last compelled them, and with them the Lithuanians, to

^h Fleury, xvi. 631. Bibl. Univ. xx 218.

ⁱ Fleury, xvi. 654.

^k Ibid. 644.

^l Ibid. 676.

submit to their government, and to receive Christianity, such as it was, from the ministry of these execrable ruffians.

A. 1231. Antony of Padua was a famous fanatic saint and field-preacher in those days^m.

A. 1234. St. Dominic was now canonized. The multitude of miracles which he wrought both living and dead, and the delightful odour of his carcase, which, when it was taken up, perfumed all the place, were sufficient vouchers for his saintshipⁿ.

A. 1231. In a council of Anjou, clandestine marriages are declared null; and to prevent them it is forbidden to contract them by words *de præsenti*, unless the banns be first published in the church, according to custom.

A. 1235. Our learned bishop Grosthead was a strenuous adversary to papal usurpations. Fleury says that he was a pious and upright prelate, but that his zeal was bitter, and his discourses void of moderation. Indeed it is not to be expected that any writer of the Romish communion should dare to justify him.

The pope, enraged at his free speeches and bold complaints, wanted to dispatch him; but some cardinals declared it to be more advisable to let him alone, lest, said they, it should quite alienate the English from their obedience to the see of Rome; which will happen some time or other. Thus, says Fleury, they seemed to have foreseen the evil which came to pass three hundred years after^o.

A. 1238. Gregory IX. forbad the Greeks to show at Jerusalem the *holy fire* which used to descend into Christ's sepulchre on the Saturday before Easter. It is pleasant to hear the pope and Fleury^p complaining of this imposture, this sham-miracle, which, I think, still continues, *inter Græculos mendaces*.

A. 1240. At this time lived our valuable historian Matthew Paris^q.

‘Matthew Paris is an honest, sincere, and good writer,

^m Fleury, xvi. 523. xvii. 15.

ⁿ Ibid. xvii. 52.

^o Cave, ii. 294. Fleury, xvii. 490. Rapin, i. 354.

^p xvii. 173.

^q Cave, ii. 294.

excepting the miracles, visions, apparitions, and phantoms, which he hath admitted in his works, according to the taste of those times[†].

He is commended by Lipsius[‡].

A. 1248. The Talmud was condemned by the pope; and a vast collection of Jewish books was burnt in France[†].

A. 1259. A sect of *Flagellantes*, or *Floggers*, arose in Italy, consisting of men and women, old and young, nobles and beggars; for the disorder grew epidemical. It spread itself into Germany, Poland, and other regions. But princes and prelates strenuously opposed it, and put an end to it; yet it revived again in after-times[‡].

A. 1264. The annual feast of the holy sacrament was instituted upon the revelations of a fanatical female called Juliana[‡].

‘The Latins dared not, even in the twelfth century, to attempt the establishment of this festival, although they then entertained such notions of the sacrament as were a proper foundation for such practices. These notions therefore were sedulously inculcated during the twelfth century. But when by long and subtle disputations, and zealous homilies, and, above all, by fire and sword, by military executions, proscriptions, tortures, wars, and massacres, the doctrine of transubstantiation was so fully established that no man dared to open his mouth against it, then they began to think of adding to it an annual festival, as a further confirmation, which at last was brought to pass under pope Urban^v.’

A. 1270. Many errors taught by philosophical divines were condemned at Paris. Here are some of them :

The human will acts by necessity, or rather is passive. All things here below are governed and over-ruled by the celestial bodies. The world is eternal, and there never was a first man. The soul dies with the body. God knows not any thing, except himself. There is no providence. In the Deity there is no trinity. God cannot beget his like. God knows not future contingences. There is no pre-

[†] Menagiana, ii. 98.

[‡] Epist. Cent. v. 83.

[‡] Fleury, xvii. 418.

[‡] Ibid. 630. Bibl. Univ. viii. 455.

^v Fleury, xviii. 46.

^v Dallæus, De Cult. Lat. p. 922.

destination. Creation is impossible according to reason, though faith requires us to believe it. The heavenly bodies have souls. Accidents cannot exist without a subject. The most excellent state of the mind is to philosophize. It is not necessary to pray, or to confess sins, except to save appearances. A resurrection is impossible. Fornication is no sin. An observance of the moral virtues sufficeth to acquire life eternal. Death puts an end to the whole man. Theological discourses are grounded on fables, and of no value, &c.^z

The pragmatic edict of St. Louis was published with a view to restrain papal oppression, and to secure the privileges of the Gallican church. It is in Du Pin^a.

A. 1278. Roger Bacon flourished, who seems to have been as great a genius as hath arisen in any age.

A. 1281. The communion in both kinds was not yet entirely laid aside in England^b.

A. 1290. Jacobus De Voragine wrote the *Legend*, which is called *Aurea*; and is full of most ridiculous miracles. It is, saith Vives, 'Legenda Aurea ab homine oris ferrei cordis plumbei scripta.'

However, this man was the first who translated the Scriptures of the Old Testament into Italian^c.

At the same time Joannes de Parisiis composed a treatise on the eucharist, of which an account is given in the Bibl. Universelle^d. It is a curious tract; it shows the absurdity of transubstantiation, even as it is represented by this defender of it; it shows to what perplexity and distress the doctors were driven in accounting for the bodily presence.

A. 1284. A prodigy happened at Constantinople. The priest, who was to officiate, found one of the consecrated hosts so black and corrupted, that it had no longer the appearance or the *accidents* of bread. Therefore they put it into the place appointed for such purposes, called by the Greeks *the holy oven*^e.

^z Fleury, xviii. 161. 269.

^a x. 133.

^b Fleury, xviii. 373.

^c Cave, ii. 334. Fleury, xviii. 561.

^d iii. 395. See Cave, ii. 332. Fleury, xix. 85. Mosheim, p. 537:

^e Fleury, xviii. 434.

A. 1287. Raimond Lulle made his appearance : he was a very strange enthusiast^f.

A. 1290. A Jew at Paris stole the host, and stabbed it, and flung it into the fire, and endeavoured by all means to destroy it ; but it wrought so many miracles that the poor devil was discovered, and was burnt alive. Fleury gives us this for a true story^g.

A. 1291. Acre was taken, and the Holy Land entirely lost ; and here end the croisades.

A. 1292. John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury, died this year. He was a rigid disciplinarian, and a lover of money. He enriched all his family, and left behind him more than five thousand pounds, a great sum in those days^h.

In this century the Jews were accused of having murdered many Christian children. But there are no good proofs of the facts, as Fleury fairly ownsⁱ.

‘ The tribunal of the inquisition was extremely odious, as it appears from the difficulty of establishing it even in Italy and in the ecclesiastical state, and from the fate of those inquisitors who were murdered, and are ranked amongst the martyrs. The inquisition was not only hated by the Heretics, whom it hunted out and pursued, but even by the Catholics ; by the prelates and magistrates, whose jurisdiction it diminished ; and by other persons, whom it terrified with the rigour of its proceedings. Such complaints were frequent, as were also the constitutions of popes to moderate this severity. Thus some nations, which at first admitted the inquisition, rejected it afterwards, as the French ; and many never would receive it, amongst whom, notwithstanding, the Christian religion is as well taught and practised as in countries where the inquisitorial authority is carried to its highest degree. They who have been in these different countries will bear witness to this assertion.

‘ The end for which the inquisition was established is to keep out or to abolish heresy ; but the means used for this purpose are such as naturally produce hypocrisy and igno-

^f Fleury, xviii. 494. 595. xix. 232. Mosheim, p. 566.

^g Fleury xviii. 536.

^h Ibid. xvlii. 562. Rapin, i. 482.

ⁱ Fleury, xviii. 485.

rance. The dread of being accused, imprisoned, and punished for mere suspicions, grounded perhaps upon some imprudent expression, deters people from ever speaking about religion, proposing their doubts, asking questions, and seeking instruction. The shortest and easiest way is to hold your tongue, or to speak and act like others, whether you think like them or not. An habitual sinner, who is resolved not to leave his concubine, goes to the communion at Easter lest an information should be brought against him to the inquisition as against a suspected heretic. The countries of the inquisition are the most abundant in loose casuists.

‘ Reading is one of the best means of acquiring instruction ; but it is not to be had in those regions. The Scriptures are not to be found there in the vulgar tongue, but only in Latin. To have a Hebrew Bible would make a man pass for a Jew. Many good editions of the fathers and other ecclesiastical authors are prohibited, as having been published by heretical or suspected persons. At least, it is required to strike out a preface, an advertisement, a commentary, a note ; to blot out here and there a line, or a word, as it is specified at large in the index of the Spanish inquisition. Without these corrections it is forbidden to read the book, or to offer it to sale. The booksellers therefore are not willing to deal in such goods ; and thus many excellent books never enter into those places.’

These are Fleury’s^k remarks ; and they do him honour.

‘ What great loss Christianity suffered in Asia is very manifest. If the Saracens had held the same principles which were received amongst the Latin Christians of these times, they would not have suffered one Christian to live in their dominions. But this nation, though guilty of various crimes and oppressions, yet judged it to be an act of too much iniquity and cruelty ; whilst the Romans accounted it a pious deed to destroy by fire and sword all who were of a different religion from themselves, and refused to be converted.

‘ After the new kingdom of Jerusalem was overturned, many of the Latins remained in Syria, who retired to the

^k Vol. xix. Discourse, p. xx.

steep mountains of Libanus, and by degrees so lost all sense of humanity and religion, that those of them who still remain seem to be little better than mere atheistical brutes.

‘ The Latin writers of this age make many complaints of persons amongst them who were open enemies of the Christian religion, and even deriders of the Deity ; nor are these accusations to be accounted vain and groundless. For men of parts, who attentively considered the religion which was then delivered to the public by the popes, and their creatures and agents, as true Christianity, and supported by violence and massacres, and who could find none to instruct them better, and to set the Gospel in a true light, were easily led into the opinion that Christianity was a fable invented and propagated by priests for the sake of their own emoluments. Add to this, that the Aristotelic philosophy, which then reigned in all the schools of Europe, and was looked upon as truth and right reason itself, disposed many persons to reject the theological doctrines of a Divine Providence, the immortality of the soul, the creation of the world, and other religious principles, and to be spreaders of impiety.

‘ These doctors taught, strange as it may seem, that there was only one intellect common to all men, that every thing was subjected to an absolute necessity, that there was no Providence, that the world had been from eternity, that the soul perished at death, and other such like tenets ; and supported them all by authorities taken out of their philosopher Aristotle. But to save their own fortunes and lives they then acted the same part which the later Aristotelics did in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They made a distinction between theological and philosophical truth, to secure themselves from ecclesiastical censures. These things, said they, are true according to the philosopher ; but not according to the Catholic faith.

‘ The deplorable condition of the Greeks left them neither spirits nor leisure to pursue learned studies. Much happier was the state of the Latins ; for the European princes having found by experience the manifold advantages which arose from the cultivation of the liberal arts, sought out, encouraged, honoured, and rewarded learned men. Among

these patrons none distinguished themselves more eminently than the emperor Frederic II, who was learned himself ; and Alphonsus X, king of Castille and Leon : of whom the first founded an academy at Naples, procured a Latin version of the works of Aristotle, drew a great resort of scholars to his court, and gave many other proofs of his zeal for literature ; the second acquired eternal fame by his Astronomical Tables, and other works. Thus schools were erected in many places, and various privileges were conferred upon the students ; and these sodalities became corporations, or smaller republics, with a jurisdiction of their own.

‘ Such were the schools or academies at Padua, Modena, Naples, Capua, Toulouse, Salamanca, Lyon, Cologne, and other cities ; in which the whole circle of learning was not taught, but only some parts of it. The academy of Paris, which surpassed the rest, as in other respects, so in the number of professors and students, was the first which took in all branches of learning, all arts and sciences, and therefore was the first *university*, or, as they called it, *studium universale* ; and this example was gradually followed by the rest. In this parent of the European universities, the doctors were distributed into four colleges, according to the different sciences which they professed ; and these colleges were afterwards called *faculties*. One of these doctors, chosen by the suffrages of his brethren, was president for a certain time, and was called *the dean*. The head of the university was the chancellor, who was also archbishop of Paris ; but he not having leisure to execute that office, a *rector* was appointed as his deputy. Robert de Sorbone, a pious and opulent man, and a friend of Louis IX, founded and endowed a college of divines, which from him is still called *the Sorbone*.

‘ Philology, or polite literature, or *the humanities*, as they are called, did not, with all these encouragements, keep pace with other branches of knowledge. For most of the young students chose rather to study the canon and the civil law, as the surer way to profit and honours ; or confined themselves to philosophy, to acquire the reputation of being acute and ingenious. Hence arose grievous complaints of the popes and prelates, that literature and the liberal arts were neglected ; and endeavours were used to call

off the students from law and philosophy to these occupations; but it was in vain. Yet there were amongst the writers of this age some who are far above contempt.

‘Nor was Europe altogether destitute of men of genius, and of penetration, who although they had much esteem for Aristotle, yet endeavoured to carry human knowledge still further, and despised that dry and jejune way of philosophizing which was contained in his writings. The most renowned amongst these were Roger¹ Bacon, called *Doctor Admirabilis*, and well deserving that title, skilled beyond the pitch of those times in philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, mechanics, languages, and many other things, and ennobled by the great discoveries which he made; Arnoldus Villanovanus, a Frenchman according to some, a Spaniard as others say, celebrated for his knowledge of physick, philosophy, chemistry, poetry, besides other accomplishments; Petrus de Abano, or Apono, an Italian, and a physician of Padua, called *conciliator*, from a book of his, intitled, *Conciliator differentiarum Philosophorum et Medicorum*, a man of an acute understanding, and deeply skilled in philosophy, astronomy, physick, and mathematics. But the rewards which these excellent persons received for their abilities and their useful industry were, to be called magicians and heretics by an ignorant world, and with great difficulty to escape fire and faggot. Bacon languished many years in a jail; and the bodies of the other two, after their decease, were condemned to the flames by the inquisitors.

‘Both the Greeks and the Latins censure and detest with much freedom the horrible vices of their prelates and teachers; and no one who is acquainted with the state of those times will think that they carried their complaints too far. Some great men indeed made attempts to cure this leprosy, which was diffused from the head to all the members; but they had not resolution and power equal to the arduous undertaking. The calamities of the times would not suffer the Greek emperors to bring about a reformation; and the Latins were curbed and depressed by the superstition of the age, and the immense wealth of the Roman pontiffs.

¹ He was an Englishman, and a Franciscan.

* Innocent III, who died A. 1216, followed the plan of Gregory VII, and pretended to be supreme lord and master in temporals and spirituals: a man learned, for those times, and laborious, but rough, cruel, avaricious and arrogant. He made kings, just as he thought proper, in Asia and in Europe. His own letters give abundant instances of the tyrannical dominion which he exercised, whilst Europe looked on with silence and astonishment.

* Several new monastic orders were established in this century.

* Multitudes also of sectarists were to be found, of men called *Fratricelli*, or *Beguardi*, and of other denominations, to whom are to be added the *Flagellantes*.

* Amongst those who cultivated logical or philosophical divinity, the principal are Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura. It must be acknowledged that these men had a strong desire of wisdom, a sharp wit, and a dexterity in discussing subtle and intricate points; though on many accounts they be reprehensible.

* Particular caution is to be used in reading those authors who in these and the following times treated of morality, and gave rules for the conduct of life. For although they use the same words and expressions which are to be found in the Scriptures, and which we now employ, yet they took them in a sense entirely different. Justice, charity, piety, faith, are not with them what our Saviour and his apostles meant by those virtues. He is a pious person according to Christ, who hath dedicated his heart to God and to God's precepts: but these doctors call that man pious and holy who strips himself of his worldly possessions to enrich the priests, who builds churches and monasteries, and neither rejects nor neglects any thing that the pope requires to be believed, and to be performed. It is lawful and commendable, as they teach, to oppress, torment, and destroy heretics, that is, men who will not submit to the decrees of the Roman see. Justice, therefore, in their estimation, is quite a different quality from that justice which the Scriptures recommend and require.

* The Roman pontiffs during this century waged violent and incessant war with heretics who departed from the doctrines and decisions of the 'church, and called in ques-

tion the authority and jurisdiction of the popes. For the Cathari, the Waldenses, the Petrobrusiani, and many other sects had spread themselves almost through all Europe, especially through Italy, France, Germany, and Spain, and were collected into congregations, and became very formidable. To the older sects new ones were added; and all of them, how discordant soever in other opinions, were unanimous in asserting that the vulgar religion was absolutely false, and that the popes usurped a most unrighteous dominion over the church and over the Gospel. There was no small number of nobles who listened very willingly and favourably to these new preachers inveighing against the power, wealth, and wickedness of the pontiffs and of the whole hierarchy, and confuting their claims and their practices by the testimony of the sacred books. There was therefore need of new and extraordinary assistances to crush and extirpate so numerous and so dangerous enemies. Inquisitors were appointed for that purpose; and that formidable tribunal was erected, which brought back multitudes of heretics to the bosom of the church, and destroyed as many by fire and faggot^m.

The abbots in these days were very rich; nor did they neglect any methods of increasing their wealth and their power, not even the barbarity of breaking peasants on the wheel, that they might seize on their effects. It was an abbot of Nienburg who was guilty of this cruelty. He was a most pious ecclesiastic, for he ordered a monk to be cast out unburied upon a dunghill, because he died possessed of nineteen crowns; adding, to justify his severity, this sentence of Scripture, *Thy money perish with thee*.

It was then an axiom, that the church abhors the shedding of blood. Therefore bishops and archbishops used to go to battle armed with clubs; and made no scruple to knock down an enemy, and to beat and bruise him to death, though they held it unlawful to run him through with a sword.

These ages of ignorance were golden and happy ages for the church, and the prelates abounded in good works; for no man dared to call their actions by any other nameⁿ.

^m Mosheim, p. 496, &c. 501, &c.

ⁿ Bibl. Univ. i. 96, &c.

Discourse on the Croisades, by Fleury.

‘THE croisades make a considerable part of the history of the church during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and were one of the principal sources of the alteration of ecclesiastical discipline. You have seen the end of them ; let us look back to their beginning and their progress.

‘The origin of croisades is to be discovered in the pilgrimages to the Holy Land, which became frequent from the reign of Constantine, when the cross was found^o, and the holy places re-established. Thither they repaired from all Christendom, which was contained pretty nearly within the compass of the Roman empire, whose vast extent made such voyages easy even from Gaul, Spain, and the remotest provinces. This liberty continued during three hundred years, notwithstanding the fall of the western empire, because the kingdoms formed out of its ruins remained Christian, and were peopled with Romans, though made subject to Barbarians. The great change happened not till the seventh century, by the conquests of the Arabian Mahometans, separated from us by religion, language, and manners. Yet as they left to their Christian subjects the free exercise of their religion, they permitted pilgrimages, and even they themselves went to visit Jerusalem, which they called the Holy House, and for which they have a singular veneration.

‘The Christians therefore of the West continued, under the domination of the Mahometans, to visit the holy places of Palæstine, though with more difficulty than in the preceding ages ; and we have some relations of their voyages, as of that of Arculphus, a French bishop, written by an Irish abbot towards the end of the seventh century. These pilgrims, beholding the servitude under which the eastern Christians groaned, made without question doleful representations of it, and of the disgrace to Christianity that the holy places should be in the hands of infidels. Yet many

° He should have said, *was not found*.

centuries elapsed before any attempt was made to deliver them.

‘ It is true that the Greek emperors were almost always at war with the Mahometans ; but it was rather for the defence of their frontiers than for the conquest of Jerusalem. The Goths, the Franks, the Lombards, and other nations which ruled the West, were for a long time occupied in the wars which they waged with one another and with the Greeks. Afterwards they found themselves obliged to fight against those Mahometans who conquered Spain, penetrated into France, and established themselves in Sicily, whence they made descents into Italy, even to the gates of Rome. Far from projecting to cross the seas, and to carry the war over to them, the Christians reckoned it a sufficient happiness to repulse them. Charlemain, so powerful, so warlike, so zealous for religion, employed his arms against the Saracens only on the frontiers of Spain ; and so little thought of attacking them in the East, that he always preserved alliance and friendship with the calif Aaron, who sent to this prince the key of the holy sepulchre, as a token of liberty for pilgrimages. The voyage of Charlemain to the Holy Land is a romance invented since the croisades.

‘ It was not till the end of the eleventh century that the Christians of the West united in a common enterprise against the enemies of our religion ; and pope Gregory VII., a man of spirit, and capable of vast designs, was the first mover of it. He was much affected with the lamentable relations which he received of the state of the eastern Christians oppressed by the infidels, particularly by the Turks who came to settle in Asia. He had excited the princes of the West to take up arms against them ; he was sure of fifty thousand men, whom he himself intended to head, as he testifies in a letter to the emperor Henry. But more pressing affairs at home hindered Gregory from executing his project, which was not accomplished till twenty years after by Urban II. Some preludes there had been, and the pilgrims travelled to the Holy Land in great numbers, and well armed ; of which the seven thousand Germans were a remarkable instance, who performed this voyage in the year 1064, and defended themselves valiantly against the

Arabian robbers. Such a caravan was a little army, and the croisez were only a collection of pilgrims.

‘ Besides the principal motives of opening a free passage for pilgrimages, and succouring the Christians of the East, I am persuaded that Gregory and Urban had also a view to secure Italy from the insults of the Saracens, and to weaken their power in Spain, where it continued indeed to decline after the croisades. Besides this, Urban, in one of his sermons, gives intimations of another important design, which was to extinguish the several wars which had raged in the West for more than two hundred years, and kept the lords continually in arms against each other. The croisade answered this design more effectually than *the truce of God*, as it was called, established by many councils about the year 1040, to suspend for certain days in the week all acts of hostility. The croisade turned against the infidels those forces which the Christians employed to destroy one another; it enfeebled the nobles, engaging them in immense expenses, by which means the sovereign princes grew more powerful, and by degrees re-established their authority.

‘ I find not that in those days it was ever made a question whether this war were just. The Christians of the East and West all took it for granted. Yet a difference of religion cannot be a sufficient cause of war; and Thomas Aquinas, writing in the thirteenth century when the croisades were still frequent, says, that it is not lawful to compel infidels to embrace the faith, but only that believers may employ force, when they are able, to hinder infidels from doing hurt to religion, either by persuasion or by open persecution. And it is for this reason, says he, that Christians often wage war with infidels, not to constrain them to believe, but to restrain them from opposing any obstacles to the faith. On these principles Christian princes in all times have thought that they had a right to protect foreign Christians oppressed by their sovereigns. Thus Theodosius the younger refused to surrender up to the Persian king the Persian Christians who had taken refuge amongst the Romans, and proclaimed war against him, to compel him to cease the persecution. The same was the occasion of the first croisade. The emperor of Constantinople implored the succour of the Latins against the formidable power of the Turks; and the Chris-

tians of the East besought it still more earnestly by the complaining letters of the patriarch of Jerusalem, which Peter the hermit brought to pope Urban.

‘ It must also be acknowledged that the hatred which the Christians bore to the Mahometans had a great share in the design of the croisade. The Christians considered them as a cursed nation, declared enemies to true religion, and professing to establish their own in all places by force of arms. Their own Christian subjects could not bear to obey them. John Damascene, living in the capital of their empire a century after their conquests, addresseth himself to Leo Isaurus as to his true and lawful sovereign. Fifty years after, the patriarchs of the East, in their letters to the seventh general council, acknowledged the Greek emperors for their masters, and represent the Mahometan princes as execrable tyrants. Nor were the Christians of Spain reconciled to them in the middle of the ninth century, as we see in Eulogius of Corduba. I confess that I discern not here the first spirit of Christianity, nor that perfect submission to Pagan emperors during three hundred years of persecution. But these are certain facts; and the Christian princes did not treat the Mahometans taken in war like other enemies, as it appears from those whom the emperor Basilius Macedo caused to be flayed alive, and from those whom the popes Leo IV, John VII, and Benedict VIII, put to death.

‘ The croisade was not appointed by pope Urban alone, but by the council of Clermont, consisting of more than two hundred bishops assembled for all the West; and so persuaded were all persons of *the will of God* concurring in this enterprise, that it was made the shout for battle. To bring it into execution, and to put the people in motion, the grand resort was a plenary indulgence, which was then first introduced. The church in all times had left a discretionary power to the bishops to remit part of the canonical penance, according to the fervour of the penitent, or to other circumstances; but till now it had never been seen that in favour of one single work the sinner was discharged from all temporary punishments which were due to the divine justice. Nothing less than a numerous council, with a pope presiding in person, could authorise such an altera-

tion in the system of penance : and doubtless it was thought to be grounded on sufficient reasons. For more than two hundred years the bishops had found it very difficult to make sinners submit to the canonical penances, which indeed had been rendered impracticable by multiplying them according to the number of transgressions ; whence came the invention of commutations, and of buying off the penances of many years in a few days. And amongst these commutations it had been for a long time a practice to enjoin pilgrimages to Rome, to Compostella, or to Jerusalem ; to which pilgrimages the croisade now added the perils of war. It was thought therefore that such a penance as this was equivalent to the fastings, prayers, and almsgivings, which each penitent could perform in particular, and that it would be more useful to the church, and not less agreeable to God.

‘ This indulgence served the croisez in lieu of pay ; and I find not in the first voyages any raising of tenths to defray the troops. The first was the Saladine tenth, levied on account of the third croisade. But as indulgences will not feed the body, it was supposed that the croisez would subsist at their own expense, or by the assistance of the rich and the charitable ; and this great expense attending so long a voyage was to be accounted as a considerable part of the penance. Even on these terms the indulgence was accepted with joy, as a great favour.

‘ The nobles, who knew themselves for the most part guilty of many crimes, and amongst others of pillaging the churches, and robbing the poor, thought it a favour to have no other penance imposed upon them than their own common occupation and practice, which was fighting, together with the prospect, if they fell in battle, to be ranked amongst the martyrs. Before this time one part of penance had been, neither to bear arms, nor to go on horseback. Now both the one and the other was not only permitted but required ; so that the croisez changed only the object of their enterprises, without changing in the least their way of life. The nobles drew after them the populace, most of whom were vassals confined to the lands, and entirely dependent on their lords ; and doubtless chose rather to follow them in this voyage than to sit at home confined to agriculture or to

laborious trades. Thus were formed those immense armies which we find in history. To march towards the Holy Land was thought sufficient to secure the salvation of the traveller.

‘The ecclesiastics took up the cross as well as others; but it should have been from a different motive, namely, to instruct the croisez, to comfort them, to administer the sacraments to them, and not to buy off their own penances; for, according to the true rules, canonical penances were not established for the clergy. When they had transgressed, it was thought sufficient, according to the apostolical canon, to depose them, and reduce them to the state of laymen, without adding any other correction, that they might not be punished twice for one fault. However, it may be that in the eleventh century this distinction was not accurately considered; and the ecclesiastics, too many of whom were guilty, proposed, as well as the laity did, to expiate their crimes by the croisade. What is certain is, that they thought it lawful to bear arms, and make use of them in this as well as in other wars against infidels. You have seen the bishops of Hungary armed against the Tartars, when these ravaged their kingdoms in the year 1241. The prelates of the fifth century did not act thus. St. Leo the pope, and St. Lupus, bishop of Troyes, stopped Attila by no other weapons than prayers and arguments; and they, who could not pacify these Barbarians by meekness and mildness, suffered themselves to be massacred; and the church approved their conduct so much as to rank them amongst the martyrs.

‘Even the monks and their abbots listed themselves in these expeditions, although this military sort of devotion led them off more than other men from their own vocation, which was silence and solitude. I have mentioned in its proper place the answer of St. Gregory Nyssen to a solitaire of Cappadocia, who consulted him about a voyage to Jerusalem. Gregory would not give him leave, although that was only a mere pilgrimage. You have seen how St. Bernard reproached an abbot for entering into the croisade, and how he himself absolutely refused to head the second croisade. Yet at the croisade in the time of Innocent III. we find there abbots even of the Cistercian order. Their essential duties suffered by it; the monastery was not the better go-

verned for it; and at their return neither they nor their companions the monks brought back with them a spirit of more regularity. The same may be proportionably said of the bishops and of their clergy.

‘When the armies were assembled, and began to march in the first croisade, the event did not answer the intentions of Urban and of the council of Clermont. In those times little discipline was observed in armies, and still less amongst that of the croisez, composed of volunteers of diverse nations, and led by chiefs independent one of another, with none who had the supreme command, unless the pope’s legate, and he a person by no means capable of governing such troops. Accordingly the pilgrims did not forbear from acts of hostility till they should enter into the lands of the infidels. In their passage they ravaged and pillaged the Hungarians, Bohemians, and Greeks, though Christians, and cut to pieces all who opposed their violence. On these occasions so many of them perished, that their numbers were considerably diminished when they arrived at Asia. The emperor Alexis, who then reigned, had been engaged in great contentions with Robert Guichard, duke of Apulia, and had been worsted. So that seeing Boëmond, the son of Robert, in the midst of Greece, and at the head of a formidable army, he gave himself for lost, not doubting but that this pretended pilgrim wanted his crown. It is no wonder that he did the croisez all the mischief that lay in his power; and, being inferior in strength, had recourse to artifice, according to the genius of his nation.

‘The croisez were ill-instructed concerning the state of the countries which they went to attack. This appears from the relations of their exploits, in which the names of people, regions, and princes are strangely disfigured. They knew not the roads, and were reduced to take up guides on the spot, that is, to expose themselves to the mercy of their enemies, who often misled them on purpose, and caused them to perish before they could strike a blow, as it happened in the second croisade. Even in the first voyage they weakened their own hands by dividing their troops to secure diverse conquests, as Nicæa, Antioch, Edessa, instead of reserving their strength for Jerusalem, which was the aim of their enterprise. But the different chiefs had their own pri-

vate views; and the ablest of them all was Boëmond, the Norman, who got Antioch to himself, much more solicitous, as far as we can judge of him, to make his own fortune than to do any service to religion.

‘At last they arrived at Jerusalem, besieged it, and took it by a kind of miracle; for it was not to be expected that amidst such obstacles an enterprise so ill conducted should have a happy conclusion. Perhaps God thought proper to make it prosper for the sake of some well-disposed warriors who acted uprightly and by a spirit of religion, such as Godfrey of Bouillon, whose piety and simplicity is as much extolled as his valour by the historians of those times. But the Christians corrupted this victory by the ill use they made of it, putting all the Mahometans to the sword, and filling Jerusalem with blood. Could they hope to exterminate and abolish this religion and its great empire, which extended itself from Spain to the Indies? And what idea of the Christian religion did it give to the infidels? Would it not have been more conformable to the spirit of the Gospel to treat them with kindness and humanity, and to be contented with securing by this conquest the liberty of pilgrimages to the Holy Land? By such a behaviour they would have settled the peace of the old Christian inhabitants of that country, and have made the government of the new rulers more amiable, and have procured the conversion of some infidels. Saladin, when he retook Jerusalem, behaved himself in a much more decent manner, and knew how to reproach the Christians with the barbarity of their parents.

‘But after all, what were the fruits of this enterprise, which had shaken and exhausted all Europe? Only the new kingdom of Jerusalem conferred upon the worthy Godfrey, on the refusal of the principal lords of the croisade, who, having accomplished their vow, were in haste to return to their homes. History will hardly furnish us with a kingdom smaller in the extent of land, and shorter in duration; for it lasted only eighty years, and comprised no more than Jerusalem and a few neighbouring villages, and even those inhabited by Mahometans, or by Christian natives, who had no affection for the Franks. Thus the new king had in reality no other subjects than the small remainder of the

croisez, that is, three hundred horse, and two thousand foot. Such was this poor conquest, so vaunted by historians and poets ! And strange it is, that the Christians persevered for two hundred years in the design of preserving or regaining it.

‘ But it was because the popes, and they who by their command preached the croisade, ceased not to represent it to the nobility and the populace as the cause of God, and the best method to secure their own salvation. We must, said they, revenge the disgrace of Jesus Christ, and wrest out of infidel hands that land which is his heritage, acquired by the price of his blood, and promised by him to his people. He gave his life for you : is it not just that you should give yours for him ? Can you sit at rest in your houses, whilst his enemies blaspheme his holy name, profane his temple, and the places which he honoured with his presence, by the abominable worship of Mahometans, who insult the faithful that have not the courage to eject them ? What will you answer to God at the day of judgment, when he will reproach you for having preferred your repose and your pleasures to his glory, and for having slighted so easy a method of expiating your sins and gaining the crown of martyrdom ? This is what the popes in their letters, and the preachers in their sermons, inculcated with the most pathetic expressions.

‘ In our days, when the spirits of men are no longer inflamed with the subject, and we consider it in a cool temper, we can discern in these discourses neither solidity, nor even the appearance of reason. It was said that the disgrace of Jesus Christ ought to be revenged. But what he accounts an injury, and what truly dishonours him, is the debauched life of wicked Christians ; and such were most of the croisez, which is far more odious to him than the profanation of things inanimate, of buildings consecrated to his name, and of places which bring to our mind what he suffered for us. What respect soever may be due to holy places, his religion is not connected with them. He hath declared this himself, when he said that the time was coming when God should be worshipped neither in Samaria nor in Jerusalem, but in all and in any places, in spirit and in truth. And it was to undeceive the Jews, and remove their attachment to one spot,

and to a house made by men, that he caused Jerusalem to be destroyed, and never suffered the temple to be rebuilt.

‘It is mere equivocation to call Palæstine the Lord’s heritage, and the land promised to his people. These expressions belong to the Old Testament in the proper and literal sense, and can be applied to the New only in a figurative sense. The heritage which Christ purchased with his blood, is his church collected from all nations, and the land which he hath promised is the heavenly country. We ought to be ready to give up our life for him ; but that is done by suffering all sorts of oppressions and persecutions, and even death, rather than to renounce him, and lose his favour. He hath not commanded us to expose our lives by attacking infidels sword in hand ; and if it be lawful to give the title of martyrs to those who are slain fighting with unbelievers, it must be in a purely religious war. More than five hundred years were elapsed since the Mahometans had conquered Palæstine when the first croisade was undertaken ; and we see not that Christianity in general had suffered any great detriment by their conquest, or that it grew more flourishing since. In a word, all the heavy censures bestowed on those princes who refused to go to the holy war, fell as much upon their predecessors, and upon other princes, who yet had been most zealous in the cause of religion.

‘The second croisade, conducted by Louis the Young with Conrad king of Germany, was entirely unsuccessful ; and St. Bernard, who had preached it, was reduced to plead for himself against the reproaches which his doctrine had brought upon him. The army of Conrad perished in Natolia, without striking a blow, by the treachery of the Greeks ; and one cannot wonder enough at the simplicity of this prince, to trust himself to the emperor Manuel, after the experience of the first croisade, when Manuel’s ancestor Alexis had used all his endeavours to blast the enterprise. The interval between the one and the other was only of fifty years, and the same causes of distrust still subsisted. The Greeks were always persuaded that the Latins wanted to take possession of their empire ; and the event, fifty years after, in the fourth croisade, justified their suspicions too fully.

† I speak of the enterprise in which the French, instigated by the Venetians, went first to attack Zara in Dalmatia, and then Constantinople, to re-establish the young emperor Alexis, of which city they made themselves masters, under the pretence of punishing Murzuflus for his disloyalty to this young prince; for this was the motive which the bishops, their conductors, proposed to them, namely, that persons who had committed such murders as Murzuflus had no right to possess their dominions; and so blind were the princes of the croisez as not to discern the dangerous consequences which might be drawn against themselves by virtue of this false maxim. Innocent III. at first used his utmost efforts to divert the croisez from this project. He represented to them that they had taken arms against Infidels, not against Christians; and that it belonged not to them to revenge injuries done to the emperor Isaac, or to his son Alexis. To these remonstrances he added his censures, and the croisez were excommunicated for this undertaking.

‡ But at length he was dazzled by the success; and seeing the Latins masters of Constantinople as it were by a miracle, he imagined that God had declared himself for them. Two specious reasons imposed upon him; the facility of succouring the Holy Land, and the hopes of re-uniting the Greek to the Latin church. It was said, The Greeks are they who, above all, have prevented the good effects of the croisades by their perfidy. When we are masters of the empire, the passage to the Holy Land will be easy and safe, and we shall advance step by step to its assistance. It was also urged, The Greeks are obstinate schismatics, children of the church who have rebelled against their mother since many ages, and who deserve to be scourged for it. If the fear of our arms recalls them to their duty, so much the better; if not, we must extirpate them, and repeople the country with Catholics. But in both these reasonings they were widely mistaken. The conquest of Constantinople drew on the loss of the Holy Land, and made the schism of the Greeks irreconcilable. This wants to be explained.

‘First, then, the preservation of Constantinople became a new object of the croisez, and divided the forces of the pilgrims, already too small to sustain the war in Syria, particularly after

the loss of Jerusalem. Yet the croisez repaired more willingly to Romania, attracted by the proximity and by the goodness of the country. Thither they went in droves; and thence sprang up new states, besides the empire, as a kingdom of Thessalonica, and a principality of Achaia. There also were found new enemies to encounter, besides the Greeks, as the Bulgarians, Valachians, Comanians, and Hungarians. Thus the Latins, being established in Romania, had work enough at home, without troubling themselves about the Holy Land. They were eternally crying out for succours, and attracting as many of the croisez as they could. But, in spite of all their efforts, the conquest of Constantinople was still more short-lived than that of Jerusalem. The Latins did not preserve it sixty years; and, which added to these evils, this conquest, with the wars which it produced, shook the Greek empire to such a degree, that it gave occasion to the Turks to overset it entirely two hundred years afterwards; and as to the schism of the Greeks, it was so far from extinguishing, that it inflamed, and made it irreconcilable.

The indulgence granted to the croisade, having been extended to the preservation of the empire of Romania, against the schismatical Greeks, was soon applied to all the wars which appeared of importance to religion. The popes granted the same indulgence to the Spaniards who fought against the Moors, and to strangers who joined them as auxiliaries; and indeed it tended to deliver Christians from the domination of infidels, and to diminish the power of the latter. By these means were accomplished the conquests of James, king of Arragon, and of St. Ferdinand, king of Castile, carried on so far by their successors that at last they expelled all the Moors from Spain. At the same time the croisade was preached in Germany against the Pagans of Prussia, Livonia, and the neighbouring regions, both to hinder them from vexing the new Christians, and to incline them to receive the Gospel themselves. An additional object of the croisade was the destruction of heretics; such as the Albigenses in France, and others in Germany. Lastly, it was preached against princes who were excommunicated for disobeying the church, as the emperor Frederic II. and his son. And because the popes treated as enemies to the church all those with whom they had any

disputes, even about their temporal interests, they had also recourse to croisades on these occasions, as to the last resort against resisting powers.

‘Now these croisades, grown so numerous, were hurtful one to the other. The croisez, split into so many different bodies, could not perform great exploits; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the Holy Land. The Spaniards and Germans chose rather to gain the indulgence by staying at home; the popes had more at heart the preservation of their own temporalities in Italy than the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the destruction of Frederic and his son than that of the sultans of Ægypt and Syria. Thus the succours expected by the Christians of the East were diverted or retarded, and the multitude of the croisades caused that enterprise to miscarry which had been their first and only view. The croisades were grown objects of contempt, and the preachers of them were no longer followed and regarded. It became necessary to grant an indulgence of some days, and even of some years, to those who would deign to be present at those sermons.

‘The extension of the plenary indulgence was also hurtful to the croisade. At first it was only granted to those who took up arms, and went in person. Afterwards it was thought right not to deprive those of it, who, being unable themselves to serve, contributed to the success of the enterprise, as old men, sickly persons, and women, who gave their substance for the maintenance of the army. It was extended to all those who were promoters of this holy cause, in proportion to the sum which they gave, either during their life or by their testament; and the croisez who could not accomplish their vow, on account of some obstacle arising afterwards, were dispensed from it on the payment of a certain gift; and this sometimes upon slender excuses. All these contributions amounted to a vast sum, which was collected by the pope’s commissaries, templars, mendicants, or others who were sometimes accused of being faithless stewards.

‘But these voluntary collections were casual, and experience showed that a certain fund was necessary for the maintenance of the croisez, most of whom were not able to serve at their own expense. Thence they proceeded to imposts and taxes; and, as the subject of this war was the

defence of religion, it was judged lawful to make free with consecrated goods, that is, with ecclesiastical revenues. The first imposition of this kind was the Saladine tenth, on occasion of the loss of Jerusalem. Sensible men foresaw the consequences ; and Peter of Blois opposed this innovation, so prejudicial to the liberties of the clergy, and the immunity of ecclesiastical revenues. And indeed this example, begun in the third croisade, was followed in all the succeeding ones, not only in those for the Holy Land, but for any cause whatsoever ; and the popes, pretending to a right to dispose of ecclesiastical goods, required of the clergy a twentieth, sometimes a tenth, sometimes even a fifth of their revenues, either for the croisade, or for the particular affairs of Rome ; and also sometimes they gave a part of those taxes to those kings who came into their interests. The French and the English clergy made loud complaints on this account.

‘ These levies were only a small part of the temporal business which the croisades brought upon the pope, who was always the first mover ; for these wars, though undertaken upon a religious motive, were to be conducted like other wars. It was needful to raise troops, to furnish them with necessaries, to give them commanders, to send them forth, to fix their route by land, and their embarkation when they chose to go by sea, to have fortified places, stores, and magazines, and to make all other suitable preparations. It was the pope who regulated the enterprises, disposed of the conquests, and ratified the treaties of peace or of truce ; and as he could not march himself at the head of the croisez, there was always in each army a legate, usually a cardinal, furnished with most ample provisions, and having authority over the chiefs, and a kind of generalissimo. But the pope, who gave him this power, could not along with it give him the capacity requisite in a commander ; and so it often happened that the military officers were of a different opinion from the legate concerning the conduct of the war ; and this produced divisions amongst them, as it did between the legate Pelagius and the king of Jerusalem.

‘ Frequently it happened that a prince, after having taken the cross and an oath to set out at a certain time, delayed his voyage, either through fickleness and change of mind, or

on account of more pressing affairs at home, by a revolt of his subjects, or by the invasion of a neighbouring prince. Then recourse was to be had to the pope, to obtain a dispensation from the oath, and an allowance of longer time. If the pope did not approve the excuses, he was not sparing of his ecclesiastical censures. Such was the source of the famous contest between Gregory IX. and the emperor Frederic II. which brought on the ruin of that prince and of his house, and plunged Germany into an anarchy of thirty years; and introduced a division in Italy, from which it hath not as yet recovered itself. Such was also the cause of the quarrel of Boniface VIII. and Philip Le Bel, which was carried to the last extremities, and the end of which was so fatal to that pontiff.

‘ The prince used to say on those occasions: I am ready to accomplish my vow, but I must first provide for the safety of my kingdom, subdue my rebellious subjects, or disarm a neighbouring prince, who will take advantage of my absence. The pope replied: The croisade is the common cause of religion, to which all private and personal interests must yield. Put your cause into my hands, as to a judge and an arbitrator, and I will do you justice. As a crois  , you are under the special protection of the Roman church; whosoever attacks you during your absence shall be declared her enemy.

‘ The new lords established in the East, as the king of Jerusalem, the prince of Antioch, the count of Tripoli, gave the pope the more occupation, as their conduct towards the infidels and their contentions amongst themselves directly affected the preservation of the Holy Land. Add to this, the affairs of the Latin bishops established in those regions after the conquest, and you will find that the croisade alone and its consequences involved the popes in more business than fell to the share of the greatest monarchs. So much did they set their hearts upon the affairs of the Holy Land, that several of them died of mere vexation at the bad event of this enterprise.

‘ The Latin clergy of the East deserve a particular notice. Presently after the conquest of Antioch, Jerusalem, and other cities, they established in them Latin patriarchs

and prelates ; and, in like manner, after the conquest of Constantinople. True it is, that the diversity of language and of rituals obliged the Latins to have clergy of their own ; but I know not whether it was proper to be so hasty in multiplying prelates for the sake of the Latins, who were few in number. For example, could not the patriarch of Jerusalem have very easily governed the church of Beth-leem, which lay only two leagues off ? The croisez went to succour the antient Christians, Syrians, Armenians, and others, who all had their own bishops established by a long succession ; yet in our histories I find little mention made of these poor Christians and of their bishops, except the complaints which they made of being ill used by the Latins. Thus, under the pretence of delivering them from the Mahometans, they only laid them under a new slavery.

‘ The first care of these Latin bishops was to establish the temporalities of their sees, and to acquire seignories, cities, and castles, after the examples which they had seen at home, and to be extremely careful in preserving them. Accordingly, scarcely were they established when they began to have violent contests with the nobles ; as the patriarch of Jerusalem had with the king for the dominion of the city. Nor had they less altercation for their spiritual jurisdiction, both amongst themselves, and with the knights of the military orders, equally jealous of their privileges. To settle these litigated points, recourse was to be had to Rome, whither the patriarchs themselves were often obliged to go in person. What dissipation for these prelates ! and what additional burthen of affairs for the pope ! But what scandal given to the antient Christians of the East, and to the Infidels ! According to the true spirit of the Gospel, the Latin clergy ought to have applied themselves principally to the instruction and amendment of the croisez, and to form as it were a new Christianity, as near as possible to the purity of the first ages, and capable of attracting by good examples the infidels with whom they were surrounded. Then the clergy might have laboured for the re-union of heretics and schismatics, and for the conversion of the infidels ; and this was the method to make the croisade turn to good account. But our Latin ecclesiastics were not knowing enough to have

views so pure and so sublime ; they were in Palæstine like those in Europe, or rather still more ignorant, and still more dissolute.

‘ After the loss of Jerusalem, the patriarch, as well as the king, retired to the city of Acre, where he resided till the total loss of the Holy Land ; and though his patriarchate was only titular, there was reason to retain it so long as any hopes remained of recovering Jerusalem. The same may be said of the patriarch of Antioch, and of Constantinople, and of other Latin bishops of Greece and of the East. But since the croisades are ceased, and no rational hope subsists of re-establishing these prelates in their churches, it might have been better to have ceased from giving them successors, and perpetuating those empty titles ; and the more so, because this procedure makes the Greeks and other schismatics still less disposed to a re-union with the church, whilst they see the court of Rome full of these bishops *in partibus*, in employments little answerable to their dignity.

‘ Next to the clergy, let us consider the military orders, a kind of *religious* persons unknown to antiquity. Until the twelfth century, it was thought enough to account the profession of arms permitted to Christians, and compatible with salvation : it was not yet contrived to make it a state of perfection, and to join to it the three vows essential to a religious life. And in truth, the observation of these vows requires great precautions against the ordinary temptations ; it requires solitude, or, at least, retirement, to avoid the occasions of sin ; recollection and meditation on religious truths ; and frequent prayer, to acquire tranquillity of mind and purity of heart. Now it seems very difficult to join these practices with a military life, full of action, and continually exposed to the most dangerous temptations, or, at least, to the most violent passions.

‘ For these reasons warriors would have more need than other men to cultivate their minds by reading, conversation, and wise reflections. As we suppose them bold and brave, a right use of their reason is more necessary for them than for others, that they may employ their courage in a proper manner, and keep it within just bounds. Valour by itself only makes men brutal ; and reason by itself makes them not

courageous. They want both valour and reason. Now our old knights had never studied, and most of them could not read ; so that the common prayers of the Templars consisted only in assisting at the office which was sung by the clerks. I should also much doubt whether they were sufficiently guarded against the temptations inseparable from the exercise of arms ; and in the midst of battle could preserve such an even temper as not to be carried away by emotions of wrath and malice, by desire of revenge, and sentiments not conformable to humanity and justice. According to the antient discipline of the church, some sort of penance was required of those who had shed blood even in the justest wars ; and we find some remains of this discipline in the ninth century.

‘ I am willing to suppose that the Templars and other knights of the military orders gave shining examples of virtue in their first zeal. But it must be confessed that they soon degenerated, and that heavy complaints were made of them, even in the twelfth century, not long after their institution. They abused their privileges, extending them beyond all bounds, despising the bishops, from whose jurisdiction they were exempt, and even obeying the pope no further than it pleased them. They kept not their treaties with infidels, and sometimes entered into schemes with them for the destruction of Christians. Many of them led a corrupt and scandalous life. In fine, the crimes of the Templars were carried to such an excess, that it became needful to abolish their order at the general council of Vienne, before two hundred years were elapsed from their establishment ; and the facts of which they stand accused are so atrocious, that we cannot read them without horror, and can scarcely believe them, though proved by authentic procedures.

‘ As to the military orders which still subsist, I reverence the authority of the church which hath approved them, and the virtues of many particular persons in each of them. We have in our days known such amongst the knights of Malta. But I leave it to the conscience of each individual to examine whether he lives like a truly *religious man*, and faithfully observes his *rule*. I particularly intreat all those who embrace this state of life, and all parents who place their

children in it, to do it with solemn deliberation, and not to be led merely by the example of others; to consider attentively, before God, what are the obligations incumbent on that state, according to the intention of the church, and not according to those relaxations which it tolerates; and, above all, what are the motives for embracing this profession; whether they be to secure eternal life, and to aim at Christian perfection, or to participate of the revenues of the order, and obtain offices of dignity; for it is quite preposterous to make a vow of poverty with a view to acquire riches.

‘Of all the consequences of the croisade, that which most affected religion was the cessation of canonical penances; I say, the ceasing, not the abrogating; for they were never expressly abolished by any papal constitution, or by any council. Never was this point taken into deliberation; never was it affirmed in the following manner: “We having carefully examined the reasons of this antient discipline, and the effects which it hath produced, find the inconveniences of it to be greater than the utility; and so, all things duly weighed, we judge it proper henceforth to leave penances to the discretion of confessors.” I have seen nothing of this kind in the whole course of ecclesiastical history. Canonical penances have insensibly declined by the facility of bishops, and by the hardened stubbornness of sinners, by negligence, and by ignorance; but they received, as we may say, their mortal wound by the indulgences of the croisade.

‘I know that this was not the intention of pope Urban and of the council of Clermont. They designed, on the contrary, to perform two good deeds at a time, to deliver the Holy Land, and to facilitate penance for an innumerable company of sinners, who else would have performed none. This is what St. Bernard expressly says, and what Innocent III. affirms; and they pathetically extol the mercy of God, who, in those days, had given men an opportunity of being converted, and a new method of satisfying the divine justice. But it is to be feared that they had not enough considered the solid reasons for which the antient canons had regulated the times and the exercises of penance. The holy men who established these rules had not only in view to punish

sinner, but to ascertain their conversion, and to guard against relapses. They began therefore by separating them from the rest of the faithful, and keeping them confined during the time of their penance, except when they were to assist at divine service, and receive religious instruction. Thus they removed from them the occasions of offending; and these times of silent recollection gave leisure to the penitents for making serious reflections on the enormity of sin, the rigour of God's justice, eternal punishments, and other formidable truths, which the priests, who had the care of them, did not fail to represent in such a manner as to excite in them sentiments of compunction. Then they comforted and encouraged them; and, by degrees, confirmed in them a resolution to renounce sin for ever, and to lead a new life.

‘It was not till the eighth century that they introduced pilgrimages in lieu of satisfaction; and they began to ruin penances by such a dissipated life, and by so many occasions of relapses. And yet these particular pilgrimages were less dangerous than the croisades. A penitent travelling alone, or with one companion, could observe a certain rule, could fast, or at least live sparingly, and have his hours of meditation and silence, could sing psalms, and occupy himself with pious thoughts, or with edifying conversations; but these religious practices suited not multitudes incorporated into an army. On the contrary, the croisez, at least part of them, sought to divert themselves, and had their hounds and their hawks with them. So it appears from the prohibition of such diversions in the second croisade.

‘They were, in a word, mere sinners, who without change of heart, or antecedent preparation, except perhaps an hasty confession, such as it was, went for the expiation of their sins to expose themselves to the most dangerous temptations of committing new ones. Men chosen out from the most virtuous and best confirmed in goodness could hardly have maintained their innocence in such voyages. True it is, that some of them prepared themselves seriously for death, by paying their debts, restoring unlawful possessions, and making satisfaction to those whom they had wronged. But it must be also confessed that the croisade served as a pretext for debtors to defraud

their creditors, for malefactors to escape to prostitutes to carry on their trade with more such there were who followed the camp, some disguised in mens' clothes. In the army of St. quarters, and near his tent, there were places and he was obliged to curb these disorders by punishments. A poet of those times relates that who departed to the croisade, desperately in his neighbour's wife, that is, carrying adultery and who, dying in the voyage, charged one to embalm his heart, and give it to the lady. Did. Were not these fruits meet for repentance?

'The croisez who settled in the East after far from being converted, corrupted themselves more. The heat of the climate and the natives made them effeminate, and excited a joyment of all kind of voluptuousness, especially in the fertile regions, and in the delicious valley. Their children grew still worse, and formed a race called *Pullani*, famous only for its vices. The honour which accrued to Jesus Christ from these sive enterprises!

'At last Jerusalem and the Holy Land returned to infidel hands; and four hundred years after the croisades have ceased: but the canons are not returned to us. Whilst the croisades stood in the place of penance, not only for those who voluntarily enlisted themselves but for all to whom the bishops granted absolution, only that they would serve personally in the army to maintain there a certain number of soldiers. It seems then that after the end of the croisades have returned to the antient penances; but had been interrupted for two hundred years. Penances were become arbitrary. The bishops went into the detail of the administration of the mendicant friars were the more ordinary. These itinerant missionaries could not attend to the conduct of a penitent to examine the probability of his conversion, as the regular priests. But the friars were obliged to expedite the

sinner without delay, that they might pass from one to another.

‘ Besides, morality was discussed in the schools, as other parts of theology, more by ratiocination than by authority, and in a problematical way, by calling in question every thing, even the clearest truths; whence in time proceeded so many decisions of the casuists, remote not only from the purity of the Gospel, but from the dictates of common sense. For in points of this kind what lengths will not those persons run who use such a licentious way of reasoning? Now the casuists were more employed in describing the nature of sins than in showing their remedies. They were principally occupied in deciding which are mortal sins, and in distinguishing to which virtue each sin was opposite, whether to justice, prudence, or temperance. They seem to have studied how to bring down sins to the lowest degree of guilt, and to justify many actions, which the ancients, less subtle but more sincere, judged to be criminal.

‘ Thus the old discipline, by being so neglected, is fallen almost into oblivion, so that none dare to talk of re-establishing it. Yet St. Charles was a good Catholic, and in his instructions for confessors he hath inserted an extract from the old canons to guide them in imposing penances, and to make those penances, as far as it may be, proportionable to the offences. Lastly, the council of Trent hath ordered that notorious offenders be put to open penance; permitting only the bishops to dispense with it when they shall judge it proper.

‘ I have observed, by the way, that one of the objects of the croisade was the conversion of the Pagans of Livonia, Prussia, and other northern people; which deserves particular reflections. These conversions were begun by the zeal of some Cistercian monks, and were continued by the Predicant friars; and so far nothing could be more conformable to the spirit of the Gospel. But as these people were extremely fierce, they who adhered to Paganism, and were the greater number, often insulted the new Christians, who defended themselves sword in hand, using the natural right of repelling force by force; and implored the assistance of the Germans, Poles, and other ancient Christians in the neighbourhood. This was also within the bounds of justice;

and this cause of war appeared so lawful, that, to support it the better, they instituted military orders of the Knights of Christ, and the Brethren of the Sword, re-united since in the Teutonic Knights. The popes extended the croisade to this religious war, and annexed the same indulgence to it as to the succour of the Holy Land.

‘ But these croisez rested not long on the defensive side ; they often attacked the infidels ; and when they had the advantage, the primary condition of peace was, that these Pagans should admit priests to instruct them, and receive baptism, and build churches. After this, if they violated the peace, as it often happened, they were treated as rebels and apostates, and it was thought right to compel them by violence to hold what they had once promised ; in which procedure also they followed the doctrine of St. Thomas. Such was the propagation of the faith in those vast provinces ; and it must be owned that the practice was not new, and that even in the days of Charlemain compulsion was used in the conversion of the Saxons ; and amidst the frequent revolts, the most common method of obtaining pardon was to receive baptism.

‘ And yet St. Thomas, following antiquity, shows very well that we ought not to compel infidels to receive the faith ; and that though they be conquered and made prisoners, they ought to be left free upon this point. I willingly cite this doctor, because we cannot have a better witness of the doctrines of his own times. He says then, following and citing St. Augustin, that no one can believe without his inclination, and that the will cannot be constrained ; whence it follows that the external profession of Christianity is of no use without the internal persuasion. It is not lawful then to baptise adults without having given them sufficient instruction, and being assured, as far as it is possible, of their conviction as to doctrines, and of their conversion as to morals ; and thence came that pious discipline of antiquity, to prepare persons for baptism by previous instruction and probation. Now how could they instruct and prove those Livonians, Prussians, and Curlanders, who on the next morning after the loss of a battle, came in crouds to baptism, that they might avoid death or bondage ? And indeed, as soon as they could shake off the yoke of the

victors, they returned to their accustomed life and their antient superstitions ; they expelled or massacred the priests, and pulled down the churches. Such men are little affected by their own promises or oaths, of which they feel not the force and the consequences : it is the present object only which strikes them. And perhaps this is the cause for which these people were easily afterwards drawn into heresies. Their religion had never been built upon a solid foundation. To this we might add a more recent example, that of the Moors in Spain.

‘ To return to the northern croisades : I am afraid that temporal interest had rather a greater share in them than religious zeal. For the popes gave the Teutonic knights the domain and sovereignty of all the lands which they could conquer from the infidels. I examine not here what right the pope had, or what need the knights had to hold their conquests by his donation. I consider only the fact ; and I say that these knights, it is to be feared, were more solicitous about the increase of their domination than of the Christian faith. I am willing to suppose that the monks and friars who preached these croisades, and instructed the new converts, had an upright intention and an honest zeal ; but I meet with grievous complaints against these knights, that they reduced the new Christians to a kind of servitude, and thereby deterred others from embracing the faith ; so that their arms were pernicious to the religion for the sake of which they were taken up. However, from these victories over the Pagans arose the duchies of Prussia and Curland.

‘ The croisades also for the Holy Land degenerated by degrees, and became mere temporal affairs, of which religion was only the pretext. Besides the conquest of kingdoms and of principalities, these enterprises produced other effects, less brilliant but more solid ; as the increase of navigation and commerce, which enriched Venice, Genoa, and other maritime cities of Italy. The experience of the first croisades showed the inconveniences of long marches by land, of five or six hundred leagues, to gain Constantinople and Natolia. They took the passage by sea, which was by much the shortest ; and the croisez, according to the countries whence they came, embarked in Provence, Cata-

lonia, Italy, or Sicily. It became necessary in those parts to multiply buildings and vessels, to carry over so many men and horses, along with food and warlike provisions. Thus the navigation of the Mediterranean, which the Greeks and Arabs had possessed for so many ages, fell into the hands of the Franks; and the conquests of the croisiez secured to them the liberty of commerce for the merchandises of Greece, Syria, and Ægypt, and consequently of the Indies, which had no other way to enter into Europe. By these means were strengthened and enriched the potent republics of Genoa, Venice, Pisa, and Florence; for commerce, penetrating beyond the sea-ports, extended itself to the cities in which arts and manufactures flourished.

‘ Now I doubt not but that so powerful an interest conduced to the continuance of the croisades; and a proof of this may, I think, be seen in the treatise of Sanuto, a Venetian writer, who used his utmost efforts to persuade pope John XXII to procure the recovery of the Holy Land; for it was not as yet despaired of, though indeed no more croisades were undertaken.

‘ The interest of particular persons was also considerable, on account of the great privileges of the croisiez. They were under the protection of the church, and secured from the pursuit of their creditors, who could require nothing of them before their return, and even then only the principal, without interest or usury. They were a sort of sacred people; excommunication was inflicted on all who should touch their persons or their goods; and as some abused these immunities by detaining the property of others, by obtaining impunity for their past offences, and by committing new crimes. it became needful to provide against these scandalous abuses in several councils.

‘ The last croisade which was carried into execution was that in which St. Louis died; and the success of it was inconsiderable. But they did not on this account renounce these enterprises, nor even upon the loss of the Holy Land, which happened twenty years after. They continued during the rest of the thirteenth century, and through a good part of the fourteenth; to preach up croisades for the recovery of Palestine, and to raise tenths for that purpose, or under that pretence, which were employed in other wars,

according to the direction of the popes, and to the credit which princes had with the popes. We have been undeceived on this point for above a century; and no mention is made of fighting the infidels, except in the wishes of some writers of more zeal than wisdom, and in the predictions^m of poets, when they want to flatter princes. Men of sense, instructed by the experience of past ages, and by the reasons which I have touched upon in this Discourse, see plainly that in these enterprises there is more to be lost than gained, both for temporals and for spirituals.

‘ I stop at this last consideration, and observe, that Christians ought to apply themselves to the conversion, and not to the destruction of infidels.

‘ True religion should be preserved and extended by the same methods by which it was established, by preaching accompanied with discretion, by the practice of every virtue, and, above all, by an unwearied patience and perseverance. When it shall please God to add to these the gift of miracles, the progress will be swifter. Machiavel, who observes that unarmed prophets never were successful, shows both his impiety and his ignorance; since Jesus Christ, the most unarmed of all men, was he whose conquests were the most rapid, and the most solid; such conquests, I say, as he aimed at, by gaining the hearts, and changing the dispositions from evil to good; which no other conqueror besides him ever effected.

‘ War produceth only outward compliance, compelling the conquered to submit to the will of the conqueror, to pay him tribute, and to execute his orders. As to religion, all that is in the power of the sovereign is to hinder the public exercise of that which he disapproves, and to cause the external ceremonies of his own to be practised; that is, to punish those who in these points are not conformable to his will. For if they despise temporal punishments he can go no further; he hath no direct power over their wills.

‘ We should also quit an opinion which hath been too prevalent for many ages, that a religion is lost in a country

^m Alluding perhaps to Boileau's Epistle to Lewis; *Je t'attends dans deux ans aux bords de l'Hellespont.* Ep. iv. 172.

where it hath ceased to be predominant, and supported by the temporal powers, as Christianity in Greece and Natolia, and the Catholic faith in the northern regions. It was doubtless to guard us against this error that God thought fit to form Christianity under Pagan domination, and to strengthen it during three centuries in the midst of the most cruel oppression and persecution. An invincible proof that his religion stands not in need of human support, that he alone upholds it, and that the opposition of earthly powers only serves to confirm and purify his church.

‘ I return to my point, that we should not endeavour to overset a false religion, or to extend the true one, by arms and violence. It is not the infidels, but infidelity which we must destroy, by preserving the lives of men, and by convincing them of their errors. In a word, the only true method is to persuade and to convert. I know the common prejudice, that it is impossible to convert Mahometans; and and it is this which induceth the most zealous missionaries to pass on beyond them, and preach the Gospel in India and China. But I suspect that the foundations of this opinion are not solid. Jesus Christ, commanding his disciples to instruct all nations, hath excepted none; and the antient prophecies, declaring the conversion of all nations, have made no such distinction. Can it be possible that so many different nations re-united under the religion of Mahomet, and occupying so considerable a part of the earth, should be the only ones excluded from these magnificent promises?

‘ They are not dispersed and wandering barbarians, like the antient Scythians, or the present savages of America. They are men living in civil society, under certain laws, occupied in agriculture, arts, and commerce, and enjoying the use of letters. They are neither atheists nor idolaters. On the contrary, their religion, false as it is, hath many principles common with the true one, which seem to dispose them to receive it. They believe in one God Almighty, Creator of all, just and merciful; they abhor polytheism and idolatry; they hold the immortality of the soul, a final judgment, a heaven and a hell, angels good and evil, and even guardian angels; they acknowledge an universal deluge; they honour the patriarch Abraham, as

the father and the first author of their religion ; they hold Moses and Christ to have been great prophets sent from God ; and the Law and the Gospel to be sacred books. As to their religious practices, they pray five times a day at stated hours. They keep one day of the week as a feast ; they fast one month in every year ; they assemble together to hear the instructions of their doctors ; they highly recommend almsgivings ; they pray for the dead, and they have their pilgrimages.

‘ But, it is said, they forbid, under the most rigorous penalties, all endeavours to convert the Mahometans ; and they would without mercy put the man to death who should convert one person. Well. But under Decius and Diocletian was it not a capital crime, not only to convert the Pagans, but even to profess Christianity ? If the apostles and their disciples had been restrained by such prohibitions and by the fear of death, the Gospel would never have been preached. But the Mahometans suffer Christians amongst them, and have always suffered them, so as to leave them the free exercise of their religion, on the payment of a certain tribute. This, it will be replied, is the very thing that hinders the preaching of the Gospel amongst them ; for they would exterminate all the poor Christians if they undertook to convert the Mahometans. This is the most specious objection that I have heard upon the subject ; but I question whether it be well-grounded, and whether the Mahometan princes, when the thing came to be pushed, would be so weak politicians as easily to deprive themselves of so great a part of their subjects. The objection would be stronger if the number of the Christians were not so great as indeed it is, especially in the conquered countries, as in Greece, where the Christians are far more numerous than the Mahometans.

‘ Now, when I propose the conversion of the latter, I mean that it should be undertaken with the utmost discretion, as it was in the beginning of Christianity. It is not enough to despise danger and death, and to seek it without any profit, as did the minor friars at Marocco and at Ceuta.

‘ I could wish therefore that they who should undertake to preach to the Mahometans were first well instructed in the languages there spoken, in the Arabian, which is the

language of their religion, and in the Turkish a that they had attentively perused their books, and doctrine, their histories, and their fables ; in a they had the same helps in this controversy with thers of the church had in their contests with gans ; that they began by insinuating themselves minds with such truths as we are both agreed in unity and the other attributes of God, and in the of morality, as justice, and the love of our neighbour should by no means enter too soon into the subject trinity and the incarnation, against which they are It would be necessary to establish the authority spel, by removing the notion commonly entertained that this book, though of divine authority, had fied by the Christians. To undeceive them in good use might be made of the Nestorians and who dwell amongst them, and have been separated two hundred years before the time of Mahomet have preserved the Gospel and other sacred books consonant with our copies.

‘ Above all, no railing accusations should against Mahomet, nor should he be spoken tempt. The apostles did not revile the false Ephesian Diana. But, after having well examined the mission of Jesus Christ, it might be gently in Mahomet gave no proof of his mission, and that was established by means merely human. Perhaps be proper enough to set forth the vices of the the heads of the church, and a sort of Mahomet such as Othman, Omar, Moavia, and others cheries, their cruelties, their perfidies, and, bloody war which they waged with the family

‘ This is an affair of great length, you even if one could find well-disposed hearer would be required for discussing these contr it, and I wish that herein we should imitate and the discipline of the early ages, when for a considerable time the instruction of the both for doctrine and manners, and most care their conversion, before they were admitted ter all, they who are upon the spot, and e

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 he Jews of Europe. The next impediment
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 If it were permitted to a Mahometan to pro-
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missions of the Levant, can best judge what is practicable. But even though they should gain only a few infidels to God, I account that those conversions would be more agreeable to him, and more useful to his church, than the death of so many millions, whose blood was shed in the croisades.'

FROM the attempts of Papists to convert Infidels nothing very beneficial to Christianity can well be expected; not because the former are always deficient in learning and abilities, but because their own religious scheme labours under insuperable difficulties. Some of them can reason well, and some have written well, upon the evidences of natural and revealed religion. But to make men Christians is the smaller part of their task; they must proceed, and make them members of the church of Rome, and receivers of her doctrines, some of which are contrary to the testimony of the senses, and abounding with contradictions; so that reason must be discarded from the Romish system, and a fanatical sort of faith required from the converts.

But that is not all. Suppose that infidel princes should, by some way or other, get an insight into ecclesiastical history, into the papal usurpations, the power which the vicar of Christ claims over all men, both in temporals and spirituals, the use of St. Peter's two swords, the pretensions to infallibility, the extortions, the indulgences, the inquisitions, the pious frauds, the lying miracles, the expurgatory indexes, the open violence, the interdicts, the excommunications, the breach of public faith, the massacres of heretics and infidels, the absolving subjects from their allegiance, the deposing and assassinating of princes, the disposing of crowns and scepters, and a long catalogue of enormities practised by the Roman church and its rulers, it cannot well be supposed that such princes would be fond of admitting such teachers into their dominions.

But to say the plain truth, Christians in general seem not to be *perfectly* qualified for this undertaking; nor will be so, till metaphysical and scholastical divinity is either

discarded from the Christian system, or a not to be essential to Christianity, nor necessary as a condition to salvation.

‘ To know the true state of the Mahometan person should have dwelt in the Levant, b Arabic language, have conversed familiar Mahometan doctors, and have read books v seen in Europe. All this is extremely d there are who are able or willing to under to inform themselves of the truth, and to a ledge to the conversion of Mahometans. who repair to those regions are more solici Greek proselytes to the Roman church, to Europeans who go to the Levant, or to ca traffic in those places, than to qualify the verting infidels. Besides, it is dangerous least in Turkey, where it is not permitted religion, or to dispute about it. Thus th much celebrated, produce almost nothing of the Turkish emperor, and very little else

‘ Besides the obstacles already named, more which are to be found in all errors which hinder the progress of the Gospel. the easterns, and others also, seldom set amine by reason the grounds of their religion. such inquiries either through ignorance or is clear that there is no other way of conversion, besides that of reasoning; and if they cannot reason, nothing can be accomplished. Of the best example in the Jews of Europe. The is the difficulty which converted Mahomet subsist in the Levant, or in the West, if th their abode. If it were permitted to a Mahometan profess himself a Christian in Turkey, yet posed to the hatred of all his relations a not easy for a man to dwell where he is in a minority, and still more irksome to transplant people whose language and customs are all different. The third obstacle is the ignorance and inconsideration of the Mahometans, men little qualified to set forth the advantages of Christianity, which they themselves feel n

hold religious opinions which are not one jot better than the errors of the Mahometans.

‘From these, and many other considerations which might be added, it appears that the money which devout persons in Europe furnish for the missions of the Levant serves only to feed the missionaries, and not to advance the cause of Christianity. It would be much better to send over men who should travel in those regions as philosophers, and students of the oriental tongues, and who might bring us back good histories and exact descriptions, from which we might receive profit, as we do from Roman and Greek antiquities and histories. This would be an expense better becoming sovereign princes than a thousand other ways that they have of lavishing their treasuresⁿ.’

A. 1301. Boniface VIII. quarrelling with Philip Le Bel, said to him in a letter, We give you to know that you are our subject both in spirituals and in temporals. Philip replied, We give your fool’s head to know (*sciat fatuitas vestra*) that in temporals we are subject to no person^o.

Petrus Puteanus hath written a treatise concerning this quarrel between the pope and the king; and Le Clerc^p hath given us the life of this pope, who was a second Hildebrand.

A. 1302. The Greek empire was attacked by Othman, the first sultan of the Turks.

A. 1300. ‘When the preceding century was elapsed, Boniface VIII. established by some religious ceremonies the celebrated year of Jubilee. A rumour had been raised, in the year 1299, amongst the people of Rome, that whosoever on the ensuing year should visit the temple of St. Peter, might obtain remission of all their sins, and that this blessing and felicity was annexed to every secular year. Boniface ordered inquiry to be made into the truth of this common opinion, and found, from the testimony of many witnesses of undoubted credit, that it was decreed from the most antient times, that they who repaired to St. Peter’s church, with a devout disposition, on the first day of the secular year, should obtain indulgences of a hundred years.

ⁿ Bibl. Chois. viii. 401. See also Bibl. Chois. xxv. 380.

^o Bibl. Univ. vi. 226.

^p Bibl. A. M. x. 32.

The pope therefore, by a circular epistle addressed to all Christian people, declared that they who, at this time, would piously visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, confessing their offences, and declaring their sorrow for them, should receive an absolute and plenary remission. The successors of Boniface not only adorned this institution with many new rites, but learning by experience how honourable and how lucrative it was to the church of Rome, brought it within a narrower compass of time; so that now every twenty-fifth year is a year of jubilee¹.

It is the opinion of father Pagi, that the Christians imitated in some manner the *ludi sæculares* of the old Romans; and sanctified them by religious rites, to allure the Pagans by this compliance in a thing of an indifferent nature. That Rome Christian imitated Rome Pagan in a thousand instances, is evident to the last degree; and it is probable that the popes had the old secular games in view. But that the jubilee was contrived to allure the Pagans by such a condescension, is an opinion which hath no vouchers amongst antient writers. The common notion is more probable, that their principal design was to imitate the Jewish years of jubilee. For Greek and Roman Paganism was utterly extinct in these ages, and there was no occasion or inducement to humour such prejudices.

A. 1306. Philip of France seized on the Jews in his dominions, stripped them of their effects, and sent them away in banishment².

At the same time Clemens V. appropriated to himself the revenues of the ecclesiastical benefices, great or small, that should become vacant, for two years ensuing, in England; and this was the beginning of the *annates*³.

A. 1307. Philip began the persecution of the Templars, who four years after were quite destroyed.

‘The order of knights Templars, if we may give credit to their judges, was a society of men, who were insulters and deriders of God, of Christ, and of all laws divine and human. They who were admitted into this sodality were

¹ Mosheim, p. 542. Bibl. A. et M. x. 79.

² Fleury, xix. 110.

³ Ibid. 109.

obliged to renounce Christ, and spit upon his image, to pay religious adoration to a wooden head covered with gold, or to a cat, and to practise sodomy. If they had any children from their commerce with women, they immediately burnt them, and did other things shocking to be mentioned. That there were in this family, as in other religious orders and sects, some flagitious and impious men, no one will deny; but that the whole body was so execrable, is so far from being evident from the judicial processes against them, which are still extant, that the contrary is rather fairly to be collected. If to this we add, that the accusations brought against them manifestly contradict each other; and that many of these unhappy men constantly persevered in protesting their innocence under the most cruel tortures, and with their last breath, it will seem highly probable that Philip excited this bloody tragedy, to satisfy his avarice, and to gratify his malice against their master, by whom he pretended to have been ill used.^u

This is an honest and candid judgment of the famous case of the Templars; and all reasonable men, who have considered the affair, are, I believe, of the same opinion.

A. 1308. A sect, in Lombardy, of persons who called themselves *apostolical*, and were bitter enemies to the church of Rome, were destroyed by a bishop, who headed an army raised for that purpose^x.

A. 1310. The knights of St. John of Jerusalem took Rhodes, and then were called Rhodians.

A. 1312. ‘Marinus Saausus, cognomento Torsellus, patricius Venetus, Germani cujusdam artificis opera usus, organa illa pneumatica, quæ hodie usurpantur, Italice Torsellos dicta, primus omnium in ecclesiam induxit^y.’

A. 1313. The emperor Henry VII. was poisoned in the host by a monk, who was suborned by pope Clemens V. An Arian princess had been taken off in the same manner^z.

A. 1320. John XX. was a favourer of the Jews. Many of them were at that time massacred by the Pastoureaux, a

^u Mosheim, p. 604.

^x Fleury, xix. 140. Mosheim, p. 556.

^y Wharton, in Cave, ii. 15.

^z Act. Erud. v. 311. Wharton, in Cave, ii. 11. Sandius, i. 324.

sort of religious cut-throats, who were themselves destroyed, as they well deserved^a.

John condemned a doctrine maintained by his predecessor Nicholas III. as heretical. But it was still allowed in those times that popes might err in opinions as well as in facts. Their infallibility was not admitted till a hundred years after into the schools^b.

Marsilius, a learned lawyer of Padua, wrote a defence of the emperor against the pope, in which he speaks exactly as any Protestant author would deliver his sentiments.

'In defending the rights of princes against Papal usurpations, he went,' says Du Pin^c, 'into the opposite extreme; but he cites many good passages from fathers, councils, and ecclesiastical authors.'

A. 1326. The council of Avignon complains that the clergy were generally hated by the laity, and censures the profaneness of some reprobates. These, it seems, were men who had been excommunicated; and who, knowing that their excommunicators, the priests and prelates, were themselves guilty of fornication, adultery, and other vices, served their judges in the same manner, and solemnly excommunicated them; using tallow candles instead of wax tapers, and setting some hay and straw on fire^d.

The procession of the holy sacrament was introduced, not by public appointment, but by the zeal of the populace^e.

A. 1327. At this time died Nicephorus Callistus, an ecclesiastical historian^f.

A. 1328. Gulielmus Occamus was a man of considerable parts and learning. His Dialogues, and his other works, being greedily read, and transmitted to posterity, did great mischief to the Papal power^g.

In this century arose the Lollards, concerning whom see our Histories, and Mosheim^h.

^a Fleury, xix. 307.

^b Ibid. 368.

^c xi. 67.

^d Fleury, xix. 384.

^e Ibid. xix. 356.

^f Cave, Proleg. p. xxxvi. Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. vi. 130.

^g Mosheim, p. 585.

^h P. 589.

A. 1333. ' Divino tandem favente Numine, melior effulsit lux. Ex Anglis nostris unicum tantummodo exemplum dabo, sed πολλῶν ἀντάξιον ἄλλων, virum melioribus literis pro sorte sæculi haud vulgariter imbutum, egregium plane literarum et literatorum patronum; Ricardum intelligo Buriensem, quem nobilis et opulenta sedes Dunelmensis olim tulit episcopum, *utinam*¹ sic semper talem! Vixit is Edvardo tertio, regum nostrorum felicissimo (cujus pueritiam rexerat, et ad mores principe dignos formaverat), magnis et ecclesiæ et reipublicæ muneribus functus; erat quippe, ut alia mittam, summus Angliæ cancellarius, magnusque æarii regii thesaurarius. Quam flagranti vero, et, ut ipsius verbo utar, *exstatico* in literis promovendis ferebatur animo, in libello suo, quem idcirco *Philobiblion*, sive *De Amore Librorum* inscripsit, ipse nos docet. Ab ineunte ætate viros doctrina claros familiares habuit, suavissima eorum consuetudine mirifice delectatus; quos postea etiam in dignitate positus socios sibi adscivit, in hospitio commensales, in itinere comites, in omni fortuna sodales. Impetrata facultate regia, omnes regni bibliothecas, tum publicas tum privatas, perlustravit et diligenter excussit. Ab iis quos maximis devinxerat beneficiis nullum gratius ἀντίδωρον offerri potuit, quam si pulverulenti quaterniones, et decrepiti codices donarentur. In plurimis quas apud externos principes legationibus in Gallia, Italia, Germania obiit, nunquam non ei curæ fuit supellectilem librariam augere. Quocumque pedem moveret, omnia librorum armamentaria solèrter invisit, et quicquid thesauri literarii reperit, munifica liberalitate redemit. Nec tabernas librarías neglexit, si quid in rem suam inde reportaret. Ex ordinibus monasticis, præcipue prædicatoribus et minoritis, monachos selectiores habuit, quos in omnem literati orbis angulum misit, ut melioris notæ codices vel præce vel pretio sibi compararent. In atriis suis ingens semper aderat antiquariorum, scriptorum, colligatorum, correctorum, et illuminatorum multitudo, qui libros sua quisque facultate curarent. Et quoniam probe sciret linguarum cognitionem unicam esse ad reseranda scientiarum penetralia clavem, grammaticam Græ-

¹ Cave, I suppose, had in view a certain bishop of Durham, who doubtless was much inferior to our Richard of Bury.

cam, ut et Hebræam adornari curavit, adjunctis aliis, quæ in his linguis excolendis studiosorum usibus inservirent. Antiquos codices emendavit, voces vetustate nimia caligantes congruis interpretationibus elucidavit, veterumque grammaticorum orthographiam, prosodiam, etymologiam, et diathesin inconcussa sedulitate instauravit. Denique, ne quid deesset, apud se statuit aulam publicam in academia Oxoniensi fundare, reditibus ditare, inque ea Bibliothecam, quam habuit instructissimam, in communem academicorum usum collocare; et plures certe libros quam omnes simul istius temporis Angliæ episcopi possedissee dicitur. Utrumque præstitisse, collegium nempe Dunelmense a monachis antea inchoatum perfecisse, prædiisque locupletasse, et bibliothecam suam inibi repossuisse discrete tradunt Annales Oxonienses. Hæc Burtensis noster, cujus exemplum haud pari licet passu secuti sunt alii, ex meliore luto habentes præcordia, qui de bonarum artium studiis his temporibus optime meriti sunt. Sed pauci erant, et, rari nantes in gurgite vasto,^k &c^k.

A. 1334. John established the feast of the Holy Trinity, on the first Sunday after Whitsunday^l.

Jacobus Furnerius, being made pope, took the name of Benedict XII. Historians represent him as a man of probity, and free both from ambition and from covetousness. He saw the disorders of the church, and used his best endeavours to remove them, and to reform the monks. He intended to proceed still further, when death called him away, in the year 1342. Superstition excepted, which was the common disease of the age, his character is good and fair^m.

Add to him Innocent VI. and Urban V. who were tolerable popes.

A. 1341. Petrarch was crowned poet-laureate. In ancient times it had been a custom to crown poets, who in public assemblies had carried the prize, and obtained the preference. This lasted till about the days of Theodosius, then it ceased; and afterwards revived about the end of the

^k Cave, Proleg. p. 11.

^l Fleury, xix. p. 519.

^m Mosheim, p. 573.

twelfth century, and continued till it was prostituted to such a degree in various courts of Europe, and bestowed upon such miserable versifiers, that the title became perfectly contemptible and ridiculousⁿ.

The Quietists, egregious fanatics, caused great disturbances in Greece, being attacked by Barlaam, and defended by Palamas^o.

A. 1347. This year gave birth to St. Catharine of Siena, whom even Fleury^p treats as an enthusiast.

A permission was granted by our Edward III. to one John Blome, to dig in the monastery of Glaston, and search for the body of Joseph of Arimathæa, which lay there, as Blome had learned by a revelation made to him^q.

A. 1373. The Flagellantes appeared again upon the stage; as also an opposite sect of *Dancers*, who were like the *Convulsionnaires* of our times^r.

A. 1378. The grand schism of the antipopes lasted fifty-one years, from 1378 to 1429.

The council of Pisa was convened upon this occasion. During this famous schism there were freer discourses made in public debates, concerning the wickedness of popes and of papal usurpations, than could well be expected in such ignorant and bigoted times. It is strange that none of them, having proceeded so far, should have gone further, and have discerned that a pope is no creature of God's making. That discovery was reserved for Luther. However, the schism, together with the ignorance, insolence, and abandoned profligacy of the clergy, had one happy effect. It opened the blind eyes of the laity, and prepared the way for the Reformation. The consummate wickedness of these antipopes, who were the greatest villains upon earth, as all honest Christians accounted them, and as they themselves used to call one another, and of whom some were guilty of every crime that can be conceived, and

ⁿ See a Dissertation on the Laureate Poets in the Mem. de l'Acad. xv. 235.

^o Mosheim, p. 396.

^p xx. 288.

^q Bibl. Chois. xxiii. 326.

^r Mosheim, p. 603.

atheists without all peradventure, gave an incurable wound to popery. Puteanus hath written an account of this schism; and Mosheim^s, and L'Enfant, in his *Histories of the three Councils*, have treated of it.

A. 1387. Wickliff died about this time. He was the father of the Lollards, whose tenets, as far as they are opposite to popery, were nearly the same with those that are now commonly held by the Protestants. He was the first translator of the New Testament from the Latin vulgate into English^t.

A. 1399. A new sect of fanatics arose, called *Albi*, or *Fratres Albi*, who presently increased, and seduced great multitudes, and not a few ecclesiastics. They went about clothed in white, men, women, and children, making processions, and professing extraordinary sanctity. But in a short time they were dissipated^u.

In this century flourished Chrysoloras, Petrarch, and Dante, and were restorers of polite literature.

Aristotle's philosophy was principally cultivated. The Realists and Nominalists were at eternal war, which lasted till the days of Luther, who put an end to it by calling another question.

The clergy were as wicked as it can possibly be conceived; and papal tyranny began to be roughly shaken with the opposition made by Philip Le Bel^x.

A. 1400. A grand jubilee was solemnized, a farce which was invented by Boniface VIII, A. 1300, and which both at first and afterwards, by the grants of indulgences, proved extremely profitable to the avaricious popes and ecclesiastics^y.

The emperor Manuel came to Rome, to negotiate an union between the eastern and western churches; and, which was his main point, to procure some assistance against his formidable neighbours. It produced no good to

^s P. 574.

^t Rapin, i. 479. L'Enfant, Conc. de Pise, ii. 45. de Const. i. 201. Mosheim, p. 567.

^u L'Enfant, Conc. de Pise, 1. P. i. 121.

^x Mosheim, p. 568.

^y L'Enfant, C. de Pise, i. 124.

the emperor, but it was of singular benefit to Europe; for the learned men whom he brought with him revived in Italy and in other states of Europe a taste for the belles lettres².

A. 1401. In the reign of our Henry IV. an order was sent to the mayor of London to burn William Salter, an heretic, that is to say, a Lollard. This is the first Englishman who was put to death for religion².

A. 1408. From the controversial writings of the illustrious John Huss, it appears that he was of singular abilities; and of considerable learning for those times. He had all the qualities requisite for a reformer; great piety, and undaunted courage. He had also a tincture of fanaticism. He thought himself inspired, and impelled to act as he did; and the warmth of his temper made him break out sometimes into violent invectives. He was manifestly Luther's forerunner, and preached particularly against indulgences. Jerom of Prague, his intimate friend and fellow-labourer, is represented by some writers as a man of an impetuous and turbulent spirit.

The heresy for which John Huss suffered, was his censuring the tyranny and debauchery of ecclesiastics; for in speculative points he was nearly orthodox, according to the orthodoxy of those days. He defended himself by the example and authority of our illustrious Groshead. Like Sampson, he slew more at his death than he had done in his life; and his martyrdom was amply revenged by his followers. L'Enfant hath given a large account of him.

A. 1409. At the council of Pisa was read a decree of Gregory X, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, as from one, and not from two principles. The Greeks had consented to this article, at the second general council^b of Lyon^c.

A. 1410. Alexander V. gave the consecrated *golden rose* to the marquis of Este. This ceremony was introduced in the eleventh century.

² L'Enfant, C. de Pise, i. 127.

² Bibl. Chois. xxvii. 322.

^b A. 1274.

^c L'Enfant, C. de P. T. 1. p. li. 41. 51. 136. 138.

The pope published, at the same time, a letter for the extirpation of heretics; and one Burgin, of the sect of the Begards, was burnt.

The ecclesiastical canon which forbids the clergy to bear arms, was neglected in all places, and particularly in Germany. It is related that a bishop newly elected at Hildesheim, inquiring after the library of his predecessors, was conducted to an arsenal full of all military weapons. These are the books, said they, of which your predecessors made use, and which you must use, to defend your church against the usurpations of your neighbours^d.

A. 1410. The Jews were cruelly persecuted. History says that many of them were converted by Vincent Ferrier, a famous preacher^e.

A. 1412. John Huss wrote an excellent refutation of the bull of John XXIII^f.

In a council held at Rome by this pope, at the first session, happened the adventure of the owl. After the mass of the Holy Ghost, all being seated, and John sitting on his throne, suddenly a frightful owl came screaming out of his hole, and placed himself just before the pope, staring earnestly upon him. The arrival of this nocturnal bird in the day-time caused many speculations: some took it for an ill omen, and were terrified; others smiled, and whispered to each other that the Holy Ghost had assumed a strange form to appear in. As to the pope, he blushed, and was in a sweat, and arose, and brake up the assembly. But at the next session, the owl took his place again, fixing his eyes upon John, who was more dismayed than before, and ordered them to drive away the bird. A pleasant sight it was to behold the prelates occupied in hunting him; for he would not decamp. At last they killed him as an incorrigible heretic, by flinging their canes at him^g.

A. 1414. The Lithuanian and Samogite Pagans were converted by their duke, Ladislas Jagellon^h.

^d L'Enfant.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid. ii. 119. Cave, ii. Append. 102. Mosheim, p. 614.

^g L'Enfant.

^h Ibid.

The council of Constance was in one respect very considerable ; for it established the superiority of councils over the pope. Several of the divines who preached at this council represent all the fathers and ecclesiastics, both within and without doors, with very few exceptions, as a collection of most abandoned and profligate villains. Accordingly, these infamous wretches took due care that there should be in the church no reformation of manners, or such a pretended reformation as would amount to nothing. See a sermon which was preached to this assembly in the *Amœnitates Literariæ*¹, and the preface of L'Enfant to his History.

This council decided that although Christ gave the eucharist in both kinds, yet ought the communion of only one kind to be preferred ; and then burnt John Huss and Jerom of Prague for maintaining the contrary. The council of Trent^k renewed this decree, or rather carried it still further, absolutely forbidding the cup to be granted to the laity on any occasion ; notwithstanding the pressing remonstrances of the emperor, the king of France, the duke of Bavaria, and many other princes and states^l.

L'Enfant hath given us the scandalous decree of this council of Constance against the safe-conducts granted to heretics by sovereign princes.

It is well known that the emperor Sigismund basely gave up John Huss into the hands of the council ; and that he blushed on the occasion, when Huss fixed his eyes steadily upon him. There goes a report that Charles the Fifth, being importuned by Eccius, and other wretches like him, to arrest Luther, notwithstanding the safe-conduct granted to him, replied, ' I will not blush with my predecessor Sigismund.'

Huss, alluding to his own name, which signifies a goose, said, ' The goose is a tame domestic bird, which goes not far from home, and doth not take a high flight. But other birds will come, who shall soar aloft, and escape the snares of the enemy.'

On these words was probably founded a tradition that Huss foretold the Reformation accomplished by Luther, and

¹ iii. 40.^k A. 1562.^l L'Enfant.

said to his judges: To-day you roast a goose; a hundred years hence will come a white swan, which you shall not be able to destroy^m.

A. 1417. The English bishops at Constance, in honour to Sigismund, caused a pious tragi-comedy to be acted before him on the Birth of Christ, the Coming of the Wise Men, and the Slaughter of the Infants. To the English then is due the invention of such scenical entertainments in Germany; though others give the honour of it to the famous Reuchlin.

The sect of the *Flagellantes* made a great stir at this time.

There is a list of the strangers who attended the council of Constance, as tradesmen, heralds, buffoons, &c. amongst which are seven hundred *courtesans*; or, as another list hath it, fifteen hundred, which seems to be the more probable accountⁿ.

A certain priest, who was a deist, and was brought before his bishop upon that account, did not dissemble his opinion. But being tortured, he recanted, and declared himself converted to Christianity, and desired to be put into a monastery. This change was thought miraculons by some people, who would have had more reason to think it so, if a jail and the rack had not been employed in his conversion^o.

A. 1422. Martin V. published a constitution in favour of the Jews, whom he took under his protection.

L'Enfant^p hath made some remarks on the Bohemian *Adamites*; and says,

‘The accounts which we have of the later heretics come for the most part from the shops of their contemporaries the monks, who were most notorious impostors, and so given to lying, that, as the Benedictin Thomas of Walsingham observes, it was universally allowed to be a conclusive argument; *The man is a monk; ergo, he is a liar.*’

See also Mosheim^q.

A. 1439. A pretended union between the Greeks and Latins was patched up at the council of Florence^r.

^m L'Enfant.

ⁿ Ibid. ii. 21. 79. 386.

^o Ibid. C. de B. i. 89.

^p Ibid. ii. 304.

^q P. 637.

^r L'Enfant.

A. 1440. A great contest, whether the doctrines of Plato or of Aristotle were to be preferred, arose amongst the Greek philosophers, Gemistus, Pletho, Gennadius, Gaza, Bessario, &c^o.

I am much afraid that it would be doing no wrong to many of the *literati* of those days, to suppose that they had no other *esoteric* religion than what they drew from Plato or from Aristotle.

A. 1444. Concerning the famous Æneas Silvius, afterwards pope Pius II. see L'Enfant^t, and the *Amœnitates Litterariæ*^u.

Silvius hath given us a malicious description of the *Taborites*; and yet from this very description it may be collected that they were better Christians than he, whose religion was Italian politics, and who made no conscience of calumniating, prevaricating, saying, and unsaying.

These Taborites gave a confession of their faith at the synod of Kuttensburg, very much in the Protestant style, which may be seen in L'Enfant^x.

A. 1447. No Protestant scholar will refuse to pay his respects to the memory of pope Nicolas V., that friend and patron of letters. No prince ever had so many books inscribed and dedicated to him. He enriched the Vatican library with several volumes collected from the remotest parts of the East, and from other regions. He made a present of seven hundred ducats to Philelphus, and proposed to him the most advantageous conditions that were perhaps ever offered to a scholar, if he would come to Rome and translate Greek books, particularly the poems of Homer. But the death of this excellent pontiff put an end to that project^y.

A. 1450. 'Laudatur ab historicis Alphonsi regis invictus et generosus animus; tum in literas earumque cultores excellens amor: cui vicem ii celebrandâ apud posteros illius famâ retulerunt^z.'

A. 1452. Whilst Mahomet II. was besieging Constan-

^o Mem. de l'Acad. iv. 455.

^t Conc. de B. ii. 156.

^u i. 267.

^x ii. 132.

^y Petavius, i. 404. Mem. de l'Acad. xv. 570, where may be found the Life of Philelphus.

^z Petavius.

tinople, of which he soon got possession, the miserable inhabitants were carrying on their religious controversies with the utmost fury, cursing and anathematizing all those who had consented to any union with the Latin church^a.

When Mahomet had taken the city, he secured the library of the Greek emperors, which was preserved by his successors, till it was destroyed by Amurat IV, who began to reign, A. 1623^b.

The succession of patriarchs, from the taking of Constantinople down to Cyrillus Lucaris, is given to us by Philippus Cyprius^c.

The unfortunate Cyrillus Lucaris was elected A. 1612. This honest prelate, for opposing the tyranny of the church of Rome, and refusing to submit to the pope, was slandered and persecuted all his days by the Jesuits, and by the courts of France and Rome, and at last basely murdered at their instigation^d.

A. 1471. Sixtus IV. erected a famous bawdy-house at Rome; and the Roman prostitutes paid his holiness a weekly tax, which amounted sometimes to twenty thousand ducats a year^e.

A. 1495. This year died John II. king of Portugal, who had the honour to be called *Optimus Princeps*. His Life is written by the Marquis D'Allegrette, and an extract of it is given by Le Clerc^f.

At the end of this century, the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis, which had been established A. 1268, and afterwards neglected, was brought again into use, whereby the pontifical see was much damaged. For the Gallican church, adhering to the decrees of the councils of Constance and Basil, suffered not the pontiffs to proceed beyond the bounds fixed by those fathers. At the same time indeed the Florentine council, which yielded an unlimited submission to all the pretensions of the popes, was received in Italy, and other western parts; but yet so it was, that by

^a Ducas, c. 37.

^b Hist. de l'Acad. iv. 522.

^c See Bibl. Univ. vii. 71.

^d Smith, Miscell. Bibl. Univ. i. 68. Fabricius, B. Gr. x. 499. Moheim, p. 917.

^e Corn. Agrippa. Cave, it. 8. ult. Append.

^f Bibl. A. et M. ii. 162.

the revival of letters and the knowledge of Christian antiquity, the system of apostolical plenitude and papal omnipotence began to decline apace^s.

‘ In the eastern regions, the Christian religion daily lost ground by means of the Mahometans, both Turks and Tartars. In the Asiatic Tartary and its neighbouring nations, where Christianity once flourished, sordid superstitions prevailed; nor were there any traces left of true religion, except in China, where the small remains of Nestorianism cast a feeble light. For still, in this century, the supreme pontiff of the Nestorians, who resided in Chaldæa, sent some of his clergy to Cathaya and China, to supply the office of bishops amongst the congregations which dwelt, or rather lurked, in the remoter provinces. But this handful of Christians is now no more^h.’

The Mahometan tyranny almost extinguished all literature amongst the Greeks and other eastern people; whilst, on the contrary, the liberal arts and sciences flourished amongst the Latins.

Before the arrival of the Greeks in Italy, Aristotle was the favourite philosopher, extolled beyond measure, and almost adored as a saint. But some of the learned Greeks taught their disciples to prefer to the wrangling science of the Peripatetics the placid and polite and divine wisdom, as they called it, of Plato. Hence arose two sects of philosophers in Italy, contending whether Aristotle or Plato should have the preference; whilst others valued both equally, and endeavoured to reconcile their doctrines.

The Aristotelics however were superior; and following the notions of Averroes, who held that all mankind participated of one common intellect or soul, they craftily subverted the foundations of religion both natural and revealed, and were very little distant from the impiety of those who think that God is the *τὸ πᾶν*, or the universe, consisting of infinite matter endued with an infinite power of cogitation. When they were pressed by the inquisitors, they distinguishedⁱ between philosophical and theological truth, or

^s Cave, ii. 102. Append.

^h Mosheim, p. 606.

ⁱ Bayle adopted this same subterfuge, and made great use of it; for he stood in great need of it.

reason and revelation ; and said that a proposition might be philosophically true, though theologically false.

‘No eminent doctor or writer of this age can be named, who did not lament the miserable state of Christianity, and foretel its total ruin, unless the Divine Providence interposed. The vices of the popes, and of the ecclesiastics in general, were so notorious, that no one dared to reprove such querulous writers or talkers. The superior clergy, who passed their days in sloth and debauchery, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to applaud those preachers who said that the church was mortally sick from the head to the feet, and stood in need of the most violent remedies. For he was reckoned to be the best and the honestest preacher, who used the greatest liberty in censuring the court of Rome, the pope, and all his crew.

‘All the attempts of the popes, from the taking of Constantinople to this day, to bring about an union between the Greeks and the Latins, have been quite useless. The former hate the Latins and the Latin pontiffs more than ever, being persuaded that if the western Christians would have succoured them, they would not have fallen under the cruel dominion of the Turks^k.’

A. 1501. ‘The Spaniards and Portuguese, if you will believe their own writers, have not been less successful than sedulous in propagating the Gospel in foreign parts. It must be owned indeed that a sort of Christianity, such as it is, hath been introduced by them into the one and the other America, a part of Afric, and the maritime provinces and islands of Asia, which they subdued in their naval expeditions ; and many of the inhabitants of these regions, who had been either void of religion, or addicted to gross and frantic superstition, seem to profess themselves servants of Christ. But this increase of Christianity, far from deserving to be extolled, is rather to be lamented by those who consider that these unhappy people were compelled to renounce their old opinions by wicked laws and more than brutish cruelty ; and that their present religion consists in paying a blind obedience to their stupid teachers, practising some frivolous ceremonies, and uttering by rote a few words

^k Mosheim, p. 608—634.

which they understand not. This is the judgment not only of those whom the church of Rome calls heretics, but of the worthiest persons of her communion, French, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and others¹.

‘ Amongst those who are supposed to have been enemies to all religion, are placed Petrus Pomponatius, Bodinus, Rabelais, Montagne, Des Perieres, Doletus, Charron, Leo X, Bembus, Politianus, Brunus, Ochinus, Paracelsus, Taurellus. Some have affirmed that there were schools of impiety and atheism in France and in Italy, whence many of these reprobates issued forth; nor will this accusation be thought groundless by persons versed in the history of those times. Yet it will also appear, upon fair inquiry, that many of those who were thus charged with irreligion were either innocent, or not altogether profane to such a degree^m.’

‘ The most eminent amongst the learned were those who addicted themselves to publishing, correcting and explaining Greek and Latin authors, studying antiquities, and composing in verse and prose. Their works are still held in high esteem, and show the extensive knowledge, indefatigable industry, and bright abilities of these men, who accounted all true wisdom and the welfare both of church and state to depend entirely upon such studies. Though some of them carried these notions too far, in behalf of their beloved occupations, yet it needs must be acknowledged that polite literature tended to open and enlarge the mind, and to rescue reason and religion from the bondage under which they had so long laboured.

‘ To these philologers are to be added the philosophers, who may be ranged under two classes. Some pursued knowledge and the nature of things in the metaphysical way, others in the experimental way. And again, some followed the old guides and masters; others struck out systems for themselves. They who were disciples of the antients adhered either to Plato, who still had many approvers, especially in Italy, or to Aristotle. Amongst the innovators were Cardan, Telesius, and Campanella; whilst Paracelsus, and others like him, raised a new sect of men called *Philosophi per ignem*, or *Theosophi*, who allowed very little to human

¹ Mosheim, p. 686.

^m Ibid. p. 688.

reason, or to metaphysical disquisitions, but ascribed all to experimental and chemical philosophy, and to a divine illuminationⁿ.

Luther's attack upon the Romanists obliged his adversaries to seek out new methods of defending themselves. The croisades could no longer be kept up, and some other devices were necessary to supply that loss. The inquisition therefore was strengthened by new laws and regulations, and became still more formidable and tyrannical. Many colleges were founded, in which young students were to be instructed in all the arts of religious controversy. Dangerous books were suppressed or mangled by the *indices expurgatorii*. The clergy were exhorted to pursue learned studies; and considerable rewards were conferred on those who signalized themselves that way. The Romish ecclesiastics would probably have slept in sloth and ignorance, if the heretics had not attacked them so warmly. At length arose the Jesuits, the pope's most zealous advocates and soldiers; a sect founded by an illiterate fanatic and lunatic^o.

A. 1503. Julius II. was made pope. I have given some account of him^p; and shall only add that even this detestable pontiff hath found a panegyrist in Ubertus Foliet, who was so void of shame as to extol and canonize this his countryman, in the *Clarorum Ligurum Elogia*^q.

A. 1517. Luther now began the heroic work of the Reformation; and here I end my Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.

ⁿ Mosheim, p. 689.

^o Ibid. p. 697, &c.

^p Life of Erasmus.

^q P. 28.

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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